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From Latin to Capestranese: a Diachronic Study of a Phonological Development.

Giovanni Fontecchio

Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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**FROM LATIN TO CAPESTRANESE:
A DIACHRONIC STUDY OF A PHONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT**

A Dissertation

**Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

in

The Department of Foreign Languages

**by
Giovanni Fontecchio
B.S., Northern Michigan University, 1961
M.A., Louisiana State University, 1966
May, 1975**

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The writer would like to express his sincere gratitude to the people in Capestrano who consented unselfishly to sit for long hours of interview in the process of gathering the primary data for this study.

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ABSTRACT

Capestranese is the dialect of Italian spoken by some 2,000 people in Capestrano and about 40,000 more in colonies made up by emigrants from Capestrano. Capestrano is located in the Valle del Tirino, about 100 miles east-north-east of Rome.

Perhaps due to the relatively isolated geographical location and to the historical events which have affected the area, Capestranese exhibits a phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary different from those of Standard Italian and sufficiently different from those of surrounding areas to render Capestranese identifiable. Forty hours of cassette tape recordings, including four hours of recordings of the speech of areas surrounding Capestrano and thirty-six hours of recordings made in Capestrano itself, constitute the basic data.

The objective of this study is to establish correlations between Capestranese words and their etyma, the source for which is to be found primarily in Latin. Subsequently, limiting the investigation to diachronic phonological development, the task is to set patterns for the Latin sounds individually in vowels and individually and in clusters for the consonants. The development of vowels is analyzed in tonic, countertonic, initial, pretonic, and posttonic positions; consonants

are analyzed both as single consonants and in clusters in initial, medial, and final positions.

The conclusions which are reached represent summaries of the tendencies of the specific sounds and groups of sounds in their development from Latin to Capestranese.

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

A standard practice in the description of languages is to trace the development of a language from earlier sources. In the Romance Languages, Latin is the point of departure. C. H. Grandgent, E. B. Williams, M. K. Pope, Gerhard Rohlfs, four scholars I take as exemplary, have in effect established a format for the description of linguistic development.¹ Each takes as a basis a set of attested and postulated vocabulary in Latin and shows its development within a specific geographical area, taking into consideration the forces possibly exerted upon it by the substratum and superstratum within that area. Their well known studies establish the transition from Latin to the vulgar languages they treat, respectively Italian, Portuguese, Modern French, and Old French. There being no records of Capestranese at the old stages, since it has never developed a written form, a study of the diachronic phonology of the dialect must seek to bridge the unknown area between Latin and present-day Capestranese. The

¹
C. H. Grandgent, From Latin to Italian, 3rd ed., (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940); E. B. Williams, From Latin to Portuguese, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938); M. K. Pope, From Latin to Modern French, 2nd ed., (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1952); Gerhard Rohlfs, From Vulgar Latin to Old French, translated from the German by Vincent Almazan and Lillian McCarthy, (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1970). Subsequent notes will be found at the end of the text beginning on p. 103.

establishment of an attested vocabulary in modern Capestranese is accomplished, since these data now exist on magnetic tape. There are at hand, thus, two known sets for comparison, Latin and Capestranese, and the established format for generating the pertinent laws of phonological development.

Bibliography

The scholarly work done on Capestranese is scant. Jaberg and Jud used Capestrano as a checkpoint and designated the area as number 637 in Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz (1928-40). A few works that might have included mention of Capestranese do not do so; for instance, Giovanni Pansa's Saggio su uno studio sul dialetto abruzzese (1885). Italia Dialettale takes no note of the dialect in its pages. Gennaro Finamore's Vocabolario dell'uso abruzzese records many words and designates them as Capestranese; but of course there is, given the intent of the Vocabolario, no etymological treatment. An additional problem of Finamore's list is that no one has established an orthography for recording Capestranese words, so that those items authentically Capestranese but written in Italian spelling lost their Capestranese qualities. The symbol e stood for three sounds, [e], [ɛ], and [ə]. The symbol o stood for both [o] and [ɔ]; z for both [ts] and [dz]. The problem arises in that a person who is not already familiar with

that speech cannot decide which sound value to give to the written symbol. Even though Italian² presents the same difficulty, knowledge of the renderings in Italian is useless since correspondences are not consistent. Furthermore, Capestranese has a vowel, [e], not present at all in Italian. (The same problem was encountered in 1972 when the townspeople attempted to write down a set of poems and songs composed by school children celebrating the May festival: the verses could not be recorded faithfully, since the citizens did not have at hand a method for accurately transcribing the sounds.) I have completed two studies: "A Descriptive Study of the Phonology of the Dialect of La Valle del Tirino" (Master's thesis, Louisiana State University, 1966) and "Capestranese," SOQ, IX, 3 (April 1971), pp. 293-300.

Goals

Using attested and previously reconstructed vocabulary in Latin and attested vocabulary in Capestranese, in this study I intend to reach conclusions and set forth generalizations concerning the diachronic development of the specific words considered and of Capestranese in general.

Limitations

The fact that Capestranese has never existed in accepted written form sets limits to this study. No

sequence of diachronic development through the history of the dialect can be attested. Except in cases where borrowing from Italian is evident, there is no reason to hypothesize that the development of Capestranese entails a passage through Italian. There is, in fact, no reason at present to say that Capestranese developed through any other language since Latin.

If, however, a given set of lexical items in Latin seems to evolve into Capestranese according to identifiable and relatively reliable patterns, then the possibility of generalizing those changes can be established.

Methodology

The method of inquiry in this study is essentially empirical and inductive. Beginning with linguistic data gathered in the area of Capestrano, I have sought to hypothesize valid etymologies. From these, I have attempted to generate patterns of phonological development in the various possible environments.

Status of the dialect

If the number of speakers is taken as the criterion for deciding the importance of a dialect, then it may be said that Capestranese is declining in importance. Since many natives have moved away during the past century, the population has decreased there. In many cases the

emigrants have settled in colonies where the dialect has been preserved to a degree. In Mamaroneck, New York, and the upper peninsula of Michigan around Iron Mountain and Ironwood, there are persons who use Capestranese extensively--in a few cases, exclusively. Where speakers of Capestranese have merged with other language groups, however, Capestranese has atrophied.

In Capestrano and the Valle del Tirino in general, all but a very few recent immigrants to the area speak Capestranese. A large segment of the population of the area speaks both Capestranese and Italian, but many speak only Capestranese. Those who speak only Capestranese are chiefly to be found among the laboring classes, small businessmen, craftsmen, and farmers. Most monolingual citizens of the area have not had the opportunity to use Italian since their obligatory schooldays. Those who attended high school are more likely to be bilingual.

As appears to be the case also with other dialects in Italy, Capestranese has been affected by the introduction of national television. In most homes in Capestrano the television is turned on no later than eight o'clock and is kept on during supper and until the last person goes to bed. On one occasion, in 1972, I found that it was socially quite acceptable to interrupt a relatively formal supper party to watch "Rischiattutto." There is no formal study determining the degree of loss of the dialect attributable to television, but one could assume that,

since Capestranese has been commonly spoken in the home, the introduction of television during the evening hours will have had some effect. No longer do families regularly entertain themselves during the evening hours by telling and listening to stories or by simply carrying on conversations. Now the practice is to watch television programs, which are, of course, in standard Italian.

Another factor contributing to the progressive demise of Capestranese as a living dialect has to do with the prestige that local speakers attach to non-Capestranese matters. Television plays a central role in introducing elements from outside the valley, as well as in providing new words. Since Capestranese is inadequate for expressing the additions to daily life, more and more Italianisms enter the dialect, and these new words, being foreign, are prestigious.

Television plays another central role as pedagogical and prescriptive agent. Lessons on Italian appear daily throughout Italy, so that much of the population has ready access to the form of language that may now be considered approved or standard. Furthermore, the existence of Italian language lessons offers a rationale for more rigorous enforcement, on the part of elementary schools, of the policy of speaking only Italian. That obligatory education now extends through the eighth grade means that each child has more sustained contact with

Italian than he would have had a dozen years ago, when children had to attend school only through the fifth grade.

Procedures

The data upon which this study is based are available in a group of forty magnetic tape cassettes comprising slightly less than forty hours of recordings. The taped material consists of conversations between myself, a native speaker of Capestranese, and the set of informants indicated below. Thirty-six hours of conversation were taped in Capestrano, and four hours were recorded in the immediately surrounding area to establish isoglosses. All of the recordings were made in May and June of 1971.

In gathering the basic data, I made an effort to hold interviews with persons from a variety of professional backgrounds. The group includes a farmer, a tailor, a housewife, a shepherd, a student, a shoemaker, a bank guard, a small store manager, a dry cleaner, and a cook/restaurant manager. These informants constitute as much social distinction as exists in Capestrano, but the difference is not great, in terms of either status or income. The ages range from 13 to 81. For each informant there is given below: age, place of birth, profession, level of education, parents' profession and level of education, time spent outside Capestrano (if any), and my appraisal of the fidelity and reliability of his

Capestranese. An informant is considered not to have spent time outside of Capestrano if his absences were each shorter than one month.

Informant A

Age 39
Born in Capestrano
Housewife
Education: Completed fifth grade
Father: Part-time farmer and city government official
Mother: Housewife
Spent entire life in the area except for two two-month trips to the United States
Reliability factor: Satisfactory--thoroughly bilingual in Italian and Capestranese

Informant B

Age 67
Moved to the area at age 8 and has remained since then
Retired farmer
Education: Completed fourth grade
Father: Died when informant was very young
Mother: Housewife
Spent all his life in the area except for eighteen months while in military service
Reliability factor: Excellent--has a passive knowledge of Italian sufficient to understand television or newspapers, but would be very ill at ease conversing in Italian

Informant C

Age 53
Born in Capestrano
Housewife and part-time worker in spaghetti factory
Education: Completed third grade
Parents unable to read or write--sharecroppers
Spent all her life in Capestrano
Reliability factor: Excellent--knowledge of Italian passive; unable to maintain a conversation in Italian

Informant D

Age 62
Born in Capestrano
Small businessman--dispatcher in a spaghetti
factory
Education: Completed fifth grade
Parents: Apicultors
Spent all his time in Capestrano except for one
year of military service
Reliability factor: Excellent--thoroughly
bilingual as to Italian; able to maintain either
Italian or Capestranese without mixing the two

Informant E

Age 49
Born in Capestrano
Farmer and shepherd
Education: Completed fifth grade
Parents: Unable to read or write--sharecroppers
Spent all of his time in Capestrano except for
eighteen months of military service
Reliability factor: Excellent--passive knowledge
of Italian; understands oral Italian but has
marked difficulty with written Italian

Informant F

Age 50
Born in Capestrano
Bank guard
Education: Completed fifth grade
Parents: Sharecroppers with no formal education
Lived outside of area for one year during military
service and six years as policeman
Reliability factor: Fair--has the tendency to
introduce Italianisms into his Capestranese;
regards Capestranese as lacking in prestige

Informant G

Age 62
Born in Capestrano
Shoemaker
Education: Completed fifth grade

Parents: Shoemaker and housewife with very little formal education
Has lived outside the area for a total of eight years: one year military service, five years in Venezuela, two years in the United States
Reliability factor: Outstanding--even when living outside of the area, has made a point of living in "ghettos" where a large number of Capestranese emigrants lived. Introduces no Italianisms in his speech

Informant H

Age 13
Born in Capestrano
Student
Education: Completed eighth grade
Parents: Farmer-shepherd and housewife, both with elementary school education
Has spent no time outside the area
Reliability factor: Very good--thoroughly at ease with either Italian or Capestranese; while at school maintains strictly Italian; at home strictly Capestranese

Informant I

Age 81
Born in Capestrano
Tailor
Education: Completed fifth grade
Parents: Clerk and housewife
Has spent two years outside of the area
Reliability factor: Good--can and often does use Italian words while speaking Capestranese

Informant J

Age 27
Born in Penne
Cook and restaurant owner
Education: Completed eighth grade
Father: Fruit vendor; Mother: Housewife, died when informant was very young
Moved to Capestrano at age three; lived outside of the area for two and one half additional years

Reliability factor: Outstanding--takes an active interest in maintaining Capestranese

Informant K

Age 38
Born in Capestrano
Dry cleaner
Education: Completed fifth grade
Parents: Streetsweeper and housewife
Has lived five years in Venezuela
Reliability factor: Very good--bilingual

Informant L

Age 60
Born in Capestrano
Small store manager
Education: Completed third grade
Parents: Farmers and apiculturists
Has lived outside the area for one year, during military service
Reliability factor: Excellent

While the diversity of the informants' backgrounds yielded a variety of specialized vocabularies, it should be noted that there was no evident variation that could be correlated to age. When the necessity occurs to introduce a new word or a concept that the dialect cannot already handle, speakers of Capestranese simply borrow from Italian.

Having recorded the basic data, I transcribed portions of the tapes and then considered each word. Verbs were rendered in the infinitive only. For many of the words, similarities with other Romance languages were immediately obvious. For example, amike, 'friend,'

could only come from amīcum. Selection and consideration of such instances constitutes the preliminary treatment of the basic data.

Not all similarities between Latin and Capestranese words were as obvious as the one relating amike to amīcum. Selection of some items thus depended on noting consistent renderings. An example is in fōssam > mbossa. In this case, in addition to the obvious apocopation of the m (in fōssam > in fōssa), there is also the effect of the nasal voicing the following f through progressive assimilation (in fōssa > *in vōssa). The labiality of the resulting y changes the n to the labial nasal m (*in vōssa > *im vōssa), which, in turn, causes the y to become the voiced bilabial b (*im vōssa > mbossa). This is a consistent rendering, as witnessed also in mbačča < *in faciām. The change is consistent and readily explicable.

The next stage in treating the data was to order the apparent diachronic developments: considering vowels in tonic positions, vowels in pretonic and posttonic positions, initial vowels, initial consonants, etc. The conclusion of the study is a formulation of the tendencies governing these developments.

Organization

The first two chapters of this study establish the background of the dialect, the history and geography of

the area where it is spoken, and possible substrata and superstrata affecting it. A chapter follows describing the phonology of present-day Capestranese. The next chapter sets forth the diachronic development of the dialect from Latin. A final section presents the conclusions

Identification of the dialect

Since this study refers to Capestranese as a dialect, there is reason to offer evidence supporting the accuracy of the term. Capestranese has never been identified as a separate dialect; i.e., no definite boundaries have been set by scholars with reference to that speech. Rather, it has normally been incorporated with Abruzzese. This follows the general tendency of Italian dialect geographers to classify the dialects of Italy according to political divisions. Generally, each political region, such as Abruzzi, Marche, Piemonte, has a dialect named after it. A more accurate description of Italian dialects could be obtained from data gathered in a geographical linguistic survey which would not necessarily follow politically defined territories. Such a survey would seek to establish phonology and nomenclature of various checkpoints, as was done in the AIS, and subsequently to construct valid isoglosses.

The AIS provides ample lexical information for a sound beginning. Starting on page 709 of

Der Sprachatlas als Forschungsinstrument, there is a list for the AIS itself. These entries are divided into ninety-eight different classifications, such as names of relatives and professions. Considering only the first twenty-five classification groups and holding to only the first entry in each group, there is only one Capestranese word repeated in the surrounding areas. The maps in question are 5, 38, 56, 80, 87, 166, 180, 199, 201, 202, 207, 211, 213, 219, 234, 242, 244, 249, 251, 258, 259, 266, 268, and 270. The areas around Capestrano are these: Castelli (618), Montesilvano (619), Genzano-Sassa (625), Crecchio (639), Tagliacozzo (645), Trasacco (646), Fara San Martino (648), Scanno (656), and Palmoli (658). The single repeated word is that of map 219, where Capestrano (area 637) shows the same entry as that for Genzano-Sassa (625) in the term falegname "carpenter."

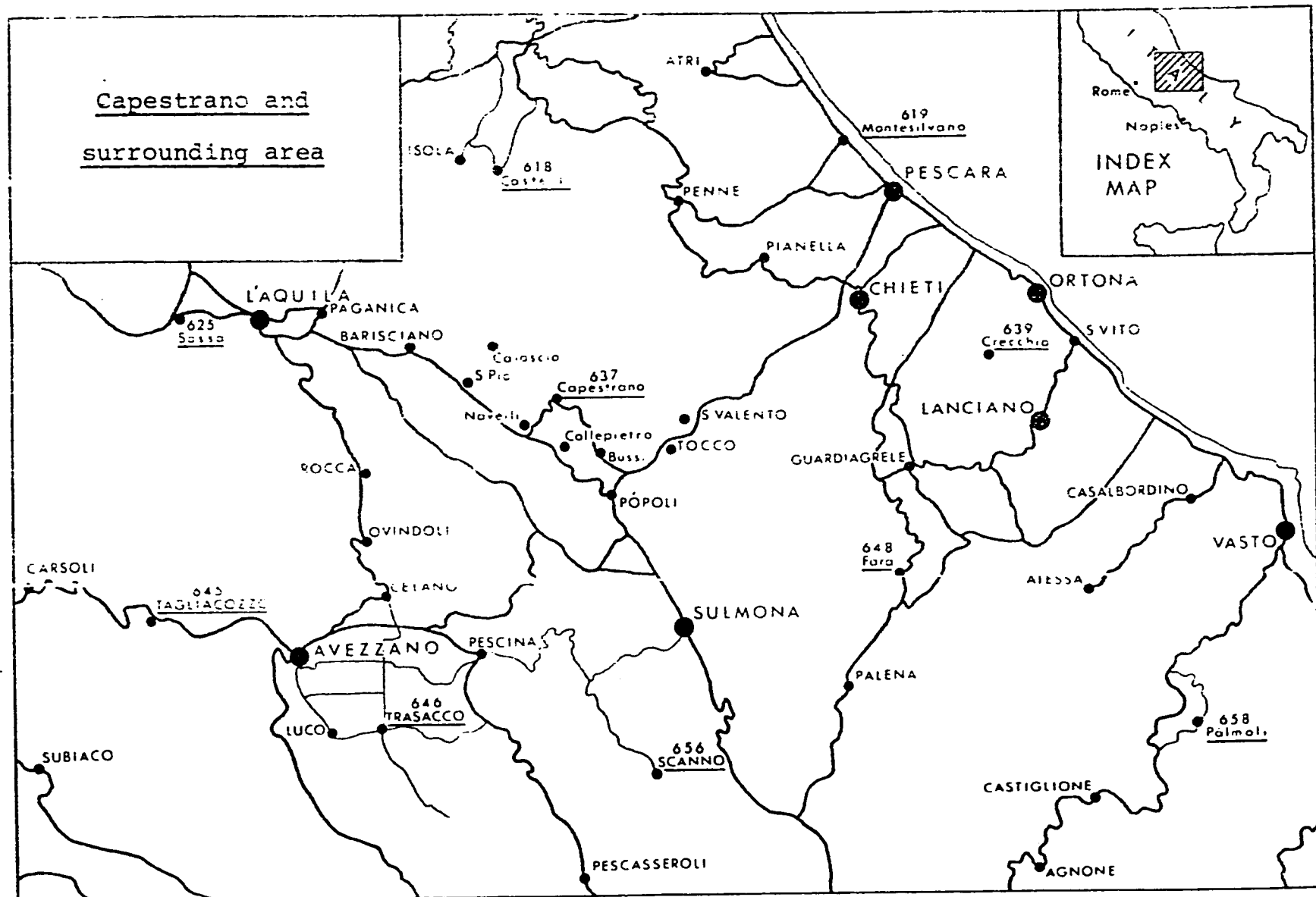
Although this brief survey makes only a beginning, there are indications that one should consider Capestranese as a distinct area. Indeed, these 224 out of 225 pairs constitute in themselves a basis for stating that Capestranese is distinguishable. The isoglosses are clear. The checkpoints of the AIS are, however, more removed from Capestrano than is appropriate for this study, and the definition of the boundaries of Capestranese can be stated with more precision on the basis of presently recorded data.

The contrasts established through the recordings are not exhaustive. They are gathered from approximately four hours of taping in the environs of Capestrano. None of the cases is a matter of idiolect; and I assume that more extensive investigation would provide a greater number of contrasts.

In addition to the discussion of the individual words and terms, I shall note some phonological, morphological, and syntactical differences. Checkpoints may be located on the map on page 16.

Lexical data point out a number of contrasts. In Capestrano the word for "broom" (Italian scopa) is skupa, while in Bussi and Tocco, the word is ranara. Capestranese cammarike "snails" (Italian lumache) is kokoloni in San Pio, Calascio, and Ofena. (It is interesting to note that the Capestranese term would be classified as feminine, while kokoloni is masculine.) In Capestrano "orange" (Italian arancia) is partualle; in all immediately neighboring areas, the word varies between arandé and aranje.

The data indicate several synchronic phonological contrasts as well. In Capestrano only the cardinal vowels /i/, /a/, and /u/ and the central vowel /ə/ can occur in unstressed positions. All around one hears the vowels /e/, /ɛ/, /o/, and /ə/ in unstressed positions. For example, "Sunday" (Italian domenica) in Capestranese is deméneka, while in Bussi, duménika, and in Ofena, doméneka.



Capestranese lacks the palatal /ʎ/, while all immediately neighboring areas have it. The vowel /ɛ/ in Italian (and in Bussi, Collepietro, Navelli, San Pio, and Calascio) is rendered in cognates as /æ/, so that when a person from Capestrano speaks Italian, his dialect is sometimes recognizable on the basis of this peculiarity.

Capestranese has an initial [ŋ], which is lacking in the surrounding area, although it is present in Neapolitan. In Capestrano, but not in nearby areas, there is progressive and regressive assimilation at the same time in sandhi expressions, as in sambranfiske, the Capestranese version of the Italian San Francesco. Voicing after nasals and [l] is a consistent feature of Capestranese, while in adjacent regions this is not generally the case. For example, Capestranese [aŋgora] is in Bussi [aŋkora].

There are also diachronic phonological differences. In Celano, Popoli, Tocco, and Chieti, after voiceless stops in the stressed syllable, one finds the palatal /j/, [j], as in [pjopələ], the name of Popoli as pronounced in the town. No such palatalization occurs in Capestrano. Initial Latin /v/, [w], can become /g/, [g], in Capestranese, while all around it remains /v/. For example, the Italian voglia is gulia in Capestrano; but is vulfa, volfa, and vajja in surrounding areas. In Collepietro, Classical Latin ō seems to have become /wo/, but in Capestranese it seems to have become /ɔ/.

Metaphony, an important feature of Capestranese, occurs only sporadically in neighboring areas.

Contrasts of morphology follow, but the items of contrast apply to the differences between Capestranese and Italian. The data available are not sufficient to be precise concerning the morphology of immediately surrounding areas. Capestranese retains a two case system: vocative and non-vocative. In direct address, persons' names and common nouns used as nicknames or insults are pronounced only through the stressed syllable. For example, the names Giovanni, Pasquale, Francesco, and Rosaria are pronounced respectively /ʃuwá/, /paskwá/, /franʃí/ and /rusá/, while in instances other than direct address they are /ʃuwanə/, /paskwalə/, /franʃiskə/, and /rusarja/. Nicknames like /čəpəllittə/, /čufəjjə/, /sandrokkə/, and /təponə/, as well as insults like /kafonə/, /ňurandə/, /puttana/, and /kurnutə/ in direct address would be respectively /čəpəlli/, /čufé/, /sandró/, /təpo/, and /kafó/ (ill mannered), /ňurá/, (ignorant), /puttá/ (prostitute), /kurnú/ (cuckold). Infinitives of verbs exist in two forms, in one of which the Latin final syllable, -re, is retained as /-rə/; in the other it is apocopated. The /-rə/ remains when the infinitive in Capestranese is followed by object pronouns; it disappears elsewhere. For example, mə nə tenge a i (I have to go away), but stenge pe iremene (I am about to go away).

The definite articles are different from those of Italian. Capestranese /ju/ serves as masculine singular; it becomes /jə/ before vowels. The feminine form is /la/ before consonants and /lə/ before vowels. The plural for the feminine is /lə/. There is another article in Capestranese, /lə/, which is used in a non-count masculine class. This last article is distinguishable from the feminine /lə/ because it modifies the non-count nouns which by other evidence (adjective agreement) are masculine, for example, vine (wine), rise (rise), randinjə and trukkiske (both meaning corn). All infinitives used as nouns are non-count.

There are often differences in gender between Italian and Capestranese nouns. Italian l'ago is Capestranese lə aka; Italian il lume is in Capestrano la luma. In many nouns, the plural is indicated internally rather than at the end. For example, kane becomes kene (dog, dogs). Since the change is an umlaut or raising of the sound to the next higher vowel, there are some nouns in which this internal change is impossible, for instance mule (mule). In verbs, an internal change shows change of person, for example, parle (I speak), but pirle (you speak), and Capestranese dorme (I sleep, he or she sleeps) is durməne in the third person plural.

In general, contrasts between Capestranese syntax and the syntax of Italian are not as striking as are the

contrasts in phonology and morphology. There are, however, some definite differences, and these are available for constructing isoglosses. In Capestranese possessive adjectives modifying terms for immediate family relations follow the noun. For example, the Italian mio padre is in Capestranese patrème; mia zia is zífəma. Auxiliary verbs for compound tenses in Capestranese are æsse and avé, which correspond to Italian essere and avere. As auxiliaries for compound tenses, however, usage of the two verbs varies considerably from Italian syntax. Capestranese æsse is in conjugated form employed as the auxiliary for all present perfect constructions in the singular; and avé is employed as auxiliary for all such constructions in the plural, whether the main verb is transitive or intransitive. Furthermore, past participles agree with subjects in the singular and with preceding direct objects in the plural. All other compound tenses use forms of avé.

Conventions for transcription

In representing Capestranese in written form, I have sought to represent systematically the phonology of the dialect and at the same time to make allowances for reasonably standard printing methods. Digraphs in this study are generally the accepted I. P. A. symbols for allophones of the highest frequency within the phonemes represented by the respective digraphs. The

transcription is phonemic, but with three specific divergencies: use of double consonants instead of /:/ to indicate consonantal length, omission of stress marks when stress is regular, and transcription in "words" rather than in phrase-utterances, "words" being understood in Kenneth Pike's definition as "items which may be found elsewhere as constituting complete utterances."³

Chapter Two

BACKGROUND

Geography

Capestrano is part of the province of l'Aquila in the Abruzzi region and is located some thirty-five miles east of l'Aquila and about one hundred miles east-north-east of Rome. In the Abruzzi are found the highest peaks in the Apennines, the Gran Sasso (2914 m.) and the Maiella (2795 m.). The Corno Grande of the Gran Sasso is about fifteen miles north of Capestrano. While its location among the high peaks gives it the cool weather associated with mountainous terrain, the proximity to the Adriatic Sea (thirty miles to the east) reduces the cold; consequently Capestrano enjoys a moderate temperature throughout the year.

Eastward from l'Aquila, the Apennines form three well defined basins on the way to the Adriatic Sea: the l'Aquila basin, the Valle del Tirino, and the Sulmona basin. Capestrano is in the Valle del Tirino and lies on its southern slope. All the communities that are within the valley are located on the mountainsides. Calascio, Castelvechio Calvisio, and Carapelle are on the northern slope, Ofena on the northeastern slopes, and Bussi sul Tirino on the northwestern slope.

Agriculture, the primary industry of the area, is carried out in the lowland of the valley as well as on the mountainsides. While the lowland is abundant in

cereal-type crops such as wheat, corn, barley, and oats, the areas adjacent to the banks of the river Tirino abound with garden vegetables. On the mountainsides there are many vineyards. Saffron is also cultivated extensively. In the vineyards and saffron fields can be found olive and almond trees. While olives are essentially for the production of olive oil for local consumption, almonds are exported.

Other products which are abundant in the area and provide for local consumption as well as moderate exportation are fresh-water trout and crayfish. Sheepherding is carried out on a cooperative basis. A shepherd will watch over a large herd of sheep one day for every ten sheep he owns in the herd. The grazing is done in the "tratturi" as well as high on the sides of Scarafano, a mountain which abounds in wild vegetation.

Mountains play an important role in the daily life of the people of the Valle del Tirino. Their livelihood is by and large limited by the mountains, and most of the activities are carried out within the boundaries of the mountains.

In discussing the role that mountains have played in Italy, Ernst Pulgram states that their function has been to keep the Italian people in rather than to keep the foreigners out.⁴ Pulgram's statement applies as readily to Capestrano as it does to Italy in general.

History

The Enciclopedia delle regioni includes a volume on the Abruzzo e Molise. A section of that volume is devoted to the historical development of the region and provides some historical background for Capestrano. This work aims for popular appeal and many details which would be mentioned in a work directed toward a more scholarly audience are omitted. Even though it may be lacking in details and in the precision of a more scholarly style, there is no evidence that the information itself is lacking in accuracy.

There are also works such as Perlangeli's Storia linguistica e storia politica nell'Italia meridionale and many general histories of Italy that are useful in obtaining a relatively superficial idea of the historical development of a specific area. However, in seeking to establish the history of a small and, in the greater view, insignificant area, one must go beyond the standard sources prepared by historians and search out works by individuals who have taken a personal interest in the topic. I have been fortunate enough to discover a Neapolitan who has contributed a number of historical sketches for publication in the Bollettino della Valle del Tirino, a bimonthly journal intended primarily for emigrants. Written for popular consumption, these sketches lack scholarly substantiation. Nevertheless, since they contain no evident contradiction to more rigorously

recorded history, they seem quite reliable. Ricardo Alonzo, the author of the article and notes, wrote an essay in two parts on the history of Capestrano for the November-December, 1961, and the January-February, 1962, issues. He also contributed a number of lesser notes and observations in subsequent issues. The essay, in particular, is very detailed and tallies with verified details in every respect. The work of the other writers, some amateur historians, recorded in the Bollettino has served also as partial source for this summary.

Before the fourth century B.C. Capestrano was part of the Oscan-Umbrian territory. During the rise of Rome, in the third century B.C., the town and immediate area were under one of four dominating influences.

(There is considerable dispute about this.) The Samnites, who spoke a dialect of Oscan, were in the general area around 350 B.C., and the Capestrano area may have been under their dominion. Or possibly the Romans were the prevailing force at about the same time. A third possibility is that Capestrano was part of the Brutium region of the Magna Graecia. Local tradition in Capestrano and the testimony of Alonzo support a fourth possibility: that the Vestini had political control of the area as early as the third century B.C. This last theory is the least disputed. The Vestini, who established an alliance with Rome in 302 B.C., had their main center in what is now Penne, and Capestrano is on

their old trade route from Penne to Rome and Naples. In 91 B.C., the Vestini (and the rest of the Lega Italica of which the Vestini were part) were assimilated into the area controlled by Rome. This event initiated a growing domination over the area by Rome which lasted through the subsequent five centuries.

With the demise of the Roman empire, Capestrano came under the dominion of a relatively small group of Arabic speaking Saracens, who carried out frequent raids in southern Italy and controlled Capestrano and the rest of the Valle del Tirino for about two centuries. They entered Italy through Palermo and Bari and remained in Capestrano for several extended periods of time. Early in the eighth century Desiderius, king of the Lombards, invaded the area with an army and established a fortress on the hill in Capestrano. The defeated Saracens then moved north about six miles to settle in Aufinium, which is presently Ofena. Of the fortress itself, nothing is left; but Desiderius vowed to found a monastery in Capestrano in 756, and the monastery is still in existence as a church. At this time, the monastery, the Abbey of Saint Peter, became the governing body of the town.

In fulfillment of a promise to Pope Steven II, Desiderius handed over the abbey and town to the Duke of Spoleto, so that the area came under the civil as

well as the religious governance of the Papacy until the middle of the twelfth century and followed the destiny of the Papal states.

In a document of 1246, Tolomeo di Traiano was named "signore" of Capestrano. Thirty-eight years later, in 1284, Charles I of Anjou took jurisdiction over Capestrano from Tolomeo di Traiano and awarded it to Ricardo d'Acquaviva to repay him for services to the kingdom of Anjou. Roberto il Saggio became ruler in 1317, but was replaced on the occasion of Charles III's occupation of the Kingdom of Naples on July 16, 1318. Charles established Lionello de Acclozemora, a captain in the army of Alfonso of Aragon, as overseer of the town. Lionello's wife was the countess of Celano, a district lying about twenty-five miles to the southwest, so that the House of Celano thus came to have preeminent control over Capestrano.

Aside from the passing of land from hand to ruling hand, the town has one very important event in its history at about this time. The town is the birthplace and home of Saint Giovanni da Capestrano, who was born on June 24, 1386, the son of a German baron and a "certain Amico." Yohann del Theutonicus, the baron, had been sent to the town to look after the interests of the Duke.

Following family squabbles in the House of Celano, Ferdinand the Bastard awarded the County of Celano and

the Marchesato of Capestrano to Antonio Piccolomini and his wife on the occasion of their wedding in 1463. Under Piccolomini the town wall and the castle were built. The Piccolomini heraldic shield is still the emblem of the town. When the kingdom of Naples and the Two Sicilies was split in 1502, Lionello's son, Ruggerone, succeeded in reestablishing the claim to the Marchesato of Capestrano and the County of Carapelle, but when he died Capestrano went back to the Piccolomini.

Constanza of Aragon, a daughter of Innicio Piccolomini, in order to be able to offer financial support for the construction of the Church of Saint Andrea del Valle in Rome, pawned the lands of Capestrano, Carapelle, Ofena, Castelvechio, and Castel del Monte for the sum of 95,000 ducats. This was on July 27, 1579. She was never able to make repayment. Later her debts increased; and eventually, in 1579, the lands which she had pawned became the property of Francesco de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who paid 106,000 ducats for them. Francesco received an investiture from Phillip II, who was king of Spain and Naples, and the next year gave it to his son, with the stipulation that it be passed on to the first-born legitimate sons thereafter.

In 1584 Phillip II changed the political status of Capestrano from Marchesato to Principality, and it remained the property of the Medici family until 1734, when a Bourbon, Charles III, ascended the throne of

Spain. With this event, the Principality was definitively incorporated into the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. In 1759 Ferdinand IV, son of Charles III, granted Capestrano the charter as city and the status as city has remained in effect since then.

The movement toward nationalism and the other political events which took place in Italy during the nineteenth century seem to have had little effect on Capestrano. Late in the century, however, there began a substantial emigration to the United States, the majority of emigrants settling on the East Coast, in the areas of Boston and New York. Another group went to the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. During the Mussolini regime, 1922-1945, more Capestranesi emigrated, this group largely to the African colonies, Libya and Somalia. In the late 1940's, the early 1950's, and through the 1960's, Capestranesi left mainly for the industrial areas of northern Italy, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and France. In smaller numbers they emigrated to the United States, Venezuela, and Australia.

This, then, is a summary history of the area. Capestrano was the subject of much influence from outside its immediate environs from its earliest history to the present day. There has been ample opportunity for outside linguistic influence, and this leads to a consideration of the roles of language substrata, superstrata, and adstrata in Capestranese.

In a discussion of possible substrata, superstrata, and adstrata influences on Capetrane, it is difficult to make any statement with absolute certainty; and very few can be made with a degree of validity which would forestall immediate dispute. The reason is simply that not enough data are available.

Archeological excavations are in progress now at several sites in Capetrano itself and in its immediate surroundings. Perhaps in the near future data which will illuminate the area's historical, archeological, and ethnological past will be made available. Perhaps new information will determine some degree of influence by a dialect of Oscan or Sabellian on Capetrane, or whether such an influence exists.⁵ Most important, there are no documents which testify to the stages of linguistic changes for Capetrane. Therefore, one cannot analyze with certainty the chronology of its various stages of linguistic development.

Some changes that could be attributed to substrata, superstrata, and adstrata may be set forth. Apparently, Capetrane is based on Latin. Before the Romans entered the area, it appears that it was the Vestini who inhabited the area; whether they spoke an Oscan-Umbrian or a Sabellian dialect is under dispute. However, the development of -nd- > -nn-, widespread among the dialects of Central and Southern Italy, is

generally attributed to Oscan influence⁶ and is found in Capestranese; for example, mūndum > munne (world), cāndēlam > kannela (candle).

The Capestranese words for box, basil, and unleavened are respectively kaśśa, baśilēka, and aśimə. In standard Italian the development of Latin initial s- to Old and Modern Italian sc- [ʃ] (for example simyam > scimmia (monkey), rather than to the more frequently found s- [s]) is frequently attributed to the superstratum influence of Arabic. Since Capestranese, which was also exposed to Arabic, shows a palatalization of s in some environments similar to that which occurs in many Standard Italian words, one might attribute this development in Capestranese to Arabic superstratum influence. On the other hand, the palatalization could have occurred as part of the normal drift of Capestranese and independent of Arabic influence.

Some lexical items in Capestranese do come from Arabic, for example, zeffrana (saffron), zukkərə (sugar), and arzenalə (dirty room). Each of these exists also in Italian, however, so there is no basis for ascribing their existence to direct Arabic influence. There is no way to tell when they entered Capestranese.⁷

Germanic words may have been adopted into Capestranese, but their status as direct Germanic influence on Capestranese in aspects other than lexical cannot be asserted. All of the apparently Germanic words

occurring in Capestranese which I have encountered could have come from Italian as easily as from the fourth and fifth century invasions of the Goths or the presence of the Lombards in the eighth century. For example, Capestranese wadaná (to earn) may have been derived directly from Longobardic *waidanjan, but waidanjan > Italian guadagnare > Capestranese wadaná is a more likely development, since the influence of Italian on Capestranese is in general greater and more direct than that of Germanic. Other probably indirect Germanic borrowings are Capestranese trəská < Italian trascare < Gothic thriskan (to thrash); Capestranese wardá < Italian guardare < Germanic wardōn (to guard). An interesting case is the Capestranese word təppa, which is in Italian zolla, both analogous to High German Zolle;⁸ the Capestranese word does not indicate the Germanic consonant shift to Old High German. Even more significant for the discussion of possible Germanic superstratum influence is the fact that təppa is the sole Capestranese word that I have been able to find that could not have come into the dialect through Italian. In fact there is comparatively firm evidence to indicate that Capestranese received fewer lexical items from Germanic than did Italian. There are words in Italian that derive from Germanic,⁹ but which in Capestranese derive from Latin.

For example, Italian buttare, but Capestranese arruá (to throw away); similarly tasca but sakkǝ́ća (pocket), fango but lota (mud), foraggio but stramə (forage), grappolo but raććǝppəla (bunch of grapes), and gridare but allukká (to shout).

The case with Spanish lexical borrowings in the vocabulary of Capestranese is similar to that of the Germanic words. They may have entered through Italian. For example, Capestranese bburraća, Italian borraccia, Spanish borracha; Capestranese fǝsfere, Italian fosforo, Spanish fósforo. In the last fifteen years several Spanish words have been introduced mainly through the return of construction workers who spent time in Venezuela. Thus the dialect now accepts trujja, Spanish trulla (trowel), along with paletta, which corresponds to the Italian paletta. Likewise one hears assadone, Spanish azadón, Italian zappa per cemento, along with marrone (mortar hoe), and jana, Spanish llana de enlucir, Italian piattone (hawk) along with pjattone.

Capestrano was never occupied by the French, its governance being carried out by proxy. However, there are words in the dialect which derive from French. The Capestranese word məććere (handkerchief), bbugere (bushel) pallettó (overcoat), and tirabbuśó (corkscrew) parallel developments to French mouchoir, boixelle, paletot, and tirebouchon. None of these words is in Italian in similar form. Thus the entrance of the words probably followed

one of two paths: either the words came into Capestranese directly from French, or they came in through Italian but have disappeared from usage in Italian.

Capestranese words from English have also been incorporated during this century, since the beginning of emigration and reimmigration. At the present time several English words are regularly used in the dialect without being considered foreign. Some retain synonyms in Capestranese. For example, mina, < English mine, exists along with minjera; tække, < English tacks, exists along with pundine; karre, < English car, exists along with mákəna. Others have no synonyms in the dialect, having filled a semantic vacuum: kotte, with the specific meaning of "car coat," and farmista, with the specific meaning of "a farmer who cultivates large sections of land."

The role of Italian in Capestranese cannot be designated either as sub- nor as superstratum, but fits best the category of adstratum. It is reasonable to assume that Italian has played a major and continuous role in establishing Capestranese vocabulary.

Chapter Three

THE PHONOLOGY OF CAPESTRANESE

The linear phonemes of Capestranese may be divided into three groups: vowels, semivowels, and consonants.

Vowels

	front	center	back
high	i		u
high mid	e	ə	o
low mid	æ		ɔ
low		a	

Several generalizations may be made about the vowels of Capestranese.

1. All are constant; i.e., there is no notable onset or offglide. Their value appears to remain constant during the entire time of articulation.

2. All can become nasalized when in contact with a nasal consonant and especially so when they occur between two nasal consonants.

3. All are longer in duration of articulation when in stressed position than when they occur in unstressed position. When stressed they approximate the length of the English vowels when followed by a nasal, for example, [bi:n]¹⁰ "bean"; when unstressed they approximate the length of the English vowels when they are followed by a voiceless stop, for example, [bit] "beat."

4. All vowels are reduced in length proportionately when they are followed by a long consonant.¹²

5. Front and central vowels are unrounded; back vowels are rounded. None of the Capestranese vowels is spread.

In stressed position the following vowels may occur: /i, e, æ, a, ɔ, o, u/. In unstressed, non-final position these vowels may occur: /i, e, a, u/. In unstressed final position, only /e, a/ exist.

The vowels of Capestranese may be classified on the basis of the following distinctive features of articulation: (1) front position, (2) central position, (3) back position, (4) roundedness, (5) close (i.e., minimum oral opening), (6) half close (i.e., about 1/3 oral opening), (7) half open (i.e., about 2/3 oral opening), (8) open (i.e., maximum oral opening).

By this description we find the following:

	i	e	æ	ə	a	ɜ	ɔ	o	u
front position	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
central position	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
back position	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
roundedness	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
close	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
half close	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
half open	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
open	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-

Each of the vowels is a separate phoneme with the exception of /a/ and /ə/. The phoneme /a/ has two allophones¹² which occur in complementary distribution. The allophone [ɐ] occurs in final position, [a] elsewhere. The phoneme /ə/ has two allophones in free variation, [ə] and [ø].

The vocalic values for the eight vowel phonemes are the following:

- /i/ includes phones ranging from [i] to [ɪ].
- /e/ includes phones ranging from [e] to [ɛ].
- /æ/ includes phones articulated at or near [æ].
- [ə] includes phones ranging from [ə] to [ɪ].
- [a] includes phones articulated at or near [a].
- [ɐ] includes phones ranging from [ɐ] to [ʌ].
- /u/ includes phones ranging from [u] to [ʊ].
- /o/ includes phones articulated at or near [o].
- /ɔ/ includes phones ranging from [ɔ] to [ʊ].

Semivowels

Semivowels or glides are the class of phones that occur between consonant and vowel. In Capestranese there exist two semivowels: [j] and [w], the palatal and velar semivowels, respectively. In Capestranese [j] may occur between any consonant (except /l/ and /ll/) and any vowel; [w] occurs before any vowel but only after velar stops.

Consonants

The consonants of Capestranese may be described on the basis of the following distinctive features of articulation: (1) bilabiality, (2) labiodentality, (3) dentality, (4) alveolarity, (5) palatality, (6) velarity, (7) nasality, (8) sibilance, (9) voice, (10) liquidity, (11) laterality, (12) trill, (13) length, (14) stoppage, and (15) continuance.

	p	pp	t	tt	k	kk	b	bb
bilabiality	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
labio-dentality	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
dentality	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
alveolarity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
palatality	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
velarity	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
nasality	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
sibilance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
voice	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
liquidity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
laterality	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
trill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
length	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
stoppage	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
continuance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

	d	dd	g	gg	č	čč	ʒ	ʒʒ
bilabiality	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
labio-dentality	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
dentality	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
alveolarity	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
palatality	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
velarity	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
nasality	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
sibilance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
voice	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
liquidity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
laterality	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
trill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
length	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
stoppage	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
continuance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+

	z	zz	f	ff	f	ff	v	vv
bilabiality	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
labio-dentality	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
dentality	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
alveolarity	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
palatality	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
velarity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
nasality	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
sibilance	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
voice	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
liquidity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
laterality	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
trill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
length	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
stoppage	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
continuance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

	s	ss	š	šš	m	mm	n	nn
bilabiality	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
labio-dentality	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
dentality	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
alveolarity	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
palatality	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
velarity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
nasality	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
sibilance	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
voice	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
liquidity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
laterality	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
trill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
length	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
stoppage	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
continuance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

	ñ	r	rr	l	ll	j	jj	w
bilabiality	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
labio-dentality	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
dentality	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
alveolarity	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
palatality	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
velarity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
nasality	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
sibilance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
voice	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
liquidity	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
laterality	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
trill	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
length	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
stoppage	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
continuance	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

The phonetic value of most of the consonantal phonemes presented above may be represented by one symbol for each phoneme. That is to say that each phoneme has only one major allophone within its class and all other allophones occur in free variation with the major one. However, there are certain phonemes that are composed of more than one major allophone, and their description needs to be considered separately.

The phoneme /s/ has two allophones, [z] and [s], which occur in complementary distribution. [z] occurs before nasals and voiced stops; [s] occurs elsewhere.

The phoneme /n/ has two allophones, [n] and [ɲ], which occur in complementary distribution. [ɲ] occurs before [g], [n] occurs elsewhere.

The phonemes /l/ and /ll/ each have two major allophones. Respectively, /l/ occurs as [l] and /ll/ as [l:] before front vowels, and /l/ occurs as [ɭ] and /ll/ as [ɭ:] before central and back vowels and consonants. It must be noted that Capestranese [ɭ] and [ɭ:] are relatively light and never reach the darkness of the English [ɭ].

Several allophones could be set for /k/, /kk/, /g/, and /gg/. Each occurs more or less fronted or backed depending on the following vowel or semivowel if one does follow. In this respect Capestranese parallels English.

Because /z/ and /zz/ occur in complementary distribution, they could be regarded as one phoneme. However, pattern congruency¹³ demands that the two be separated, and I have elected to do so.

In listing the features of articulation, both "stoppage" and "continuance" are needed to describe Capestranese consonants satisfactorily. To be able to discuss accurately the affricates /č/, /čč/, /z/, /zz/, /ʒ/, /ʒʒ/, /ʃ/, and /ʃʃ/, it is necessary to indicate the stoppage feature of the [t] and [d] as well as the continuance of the sibilants through which the complete sound is released. It is understood that the two features do not occur at the same time but rather consecutively. First occurs the stoppage, then the sibilant. The phonetic value of the phonemes listed above is respectively [tʃ], [t:ʃ], [ts], [t:s], [dz], [d:z], [dʒ], and [d:ʒ].

All consonants may occur as syllabics. Since /ə/ has a null allophone, [ə̥], in free variation with [ə], whenever a speaker elects the null allophone for that phoneme, the remaining consonant or consonant cluster of the syllable must be regarded as syllabic.

The non-linear phoneme: stress

In Capestranese three levels of stress may be identified: primary, secondary, and weak. Primary

stress falls on the tonic vowel of the utterance; secondary stress falls on the countertonic vowel; and weak stress on the other vowels. Since no "accent d'insistance" occurs in Capestranese, there is no need to discuss consonantal stress.

In this study secondary stress will not be indicated. Primary stress may fall on any of the last four syllables of the word. The pattern of word stress which occurs most frequently is the following: primary stress falls on the vowel of the penult if the word ends in a, on the last non-e vowel of the word if the word ends in e. In this study whenever the occurrence of primary stress varies from this pattern, the word is transcribed with an acute accent mark, ('), over the vowel of the syllable bearing the primary stress. Weak stress occurs on all e and final, non-accented a (i.e., [ɐ]). Secondary stress occurs on the remaining vowels of the word.

Juncture

Juncture can occur in Capestranese in two forms, open and close. Open juncture occurs between words and after absolute pause, as for example /la+perzona+ke+ju+sænde/ and /pe+tene i kepijje/ meaning respectively "the person who hears him" and "in order to have the hair..." Close juncture occurs between the phonemes within a word,

as for example /la+perzona+kju+sænde/ and /ve+petenete+i+kepijje/ meaning respectively "the more a person hears" and "you are combing your hair."

Syllabic structure

Any vowel and any consonant or consonant cluster followed by the null allophone of /ə/ may constitute a syllable. Syllables occur structured in the following ways:

1. V
2. C (V)
3. CC (V)
4. CCC (V)
5. VC

Consonant clusters are structured in the following ways:

1. sibilant + stop
2. nasal + stop
3. stop + liquid
4. sibilant + stop + liquid
5. nasal + stop + liquid

With two exceptions, consonant clusters are made up of non-long consonants. One of the exceptions occurs in the stop + liquid class. In this case the stop segment of the cluster may be either non-long or long.

The other exception involves the voiced bilabial stops. Either /b/ or /bb/ may occur before a liquid.

Any of the clusters may occur in initial or medial position. It is difficult to ascertain which clusters can occur in final position since all Capestranese words can end in a vowel.

Chapter Four

DIACHRONIC DEVELOPMENT

The fundamental premise of diachronic linguistics is that languages evolve. Lexically they evolve to accomodate the cultural change necessary for social interaction. Perhaps for the same reason, but more subtly, the phonology, morphology, and syntax of languages change. As Edward Sapir stated, "Language moves down time in a current of its own making. It has drift."¹⁴

By documenting sound changes through attested sources, one can trace the different stages in the evolution of a particular sound. However, a multitude of documents does not indicate that a change of sound occurred any more than would attested beginning and end points along a line of development. If these two points are different, the occurrence of a change is a fact. The function of documents, then, is to attest and, if they can be dated accurately, to assign a date to the forms exhibited within the documents.

With the possible exception of limited sets of lexical items, the diachronic development of a language cannot admit substantial, sudden change. Most authorities agree that language evolves by degree. Limiting his discussion to phonology, Emilio Alarcos-Llorach postulates that the distinctive features of a sound change one at a time, or at least that a sufficient number of distinctive

features remain unchanged during each stage to allow for continuous communication.¹⁵

This section of the study traces the evolution of the sounds from Latin to Capestranese in the different positions in which they can occur. The etymon supplied is usually a Classical Latin form and is left unidentified. When a Vulgar Latin form is provided it is identified as being Vulgar Latin. Because Capestranese noun morphology appears to have a complex pattern which, unfortunately, has not yet been resolved, throughout this study I cite the nominative form of the etymon only when it is clearly the derivational case and arbitrarily supply the accusative as representative of the oblique cases. Intermediate forms indicate probable stages of development. Because of the lack of documents to show the existence of stages and establish a chronology for them, all intermediate forms are conjectured. In Classical Latin words, all long vowels are marked with the macron. Short vowels are left unmarked except when they are the focusing point of discussion, in which case they are marked with a breve.

Tonic vowels

Classical Latin i

Classical Latin i [i:] consistently becomes Capestranese i [i]. For example, amīcum > amike (friend), aprīlem > abbrile (April), captīvum > kattive (cruel), cīvitas > čiveta (city), dōrmīre > dermi (to sleep), īre > i (to go).

Classical Latin y

As a general development Classical Latin y [i] becomes Capestranese e [e]. For example, aurīcŭlam > rekkja (ear), bībēre > bbeve (to drink), domīnicam > demeneka (Sunday), mīttēre > mette (to place), pīscem > pešše (fish), vīncēre > venfe (to win). When followed by a syllable containing yod or a palatal, Classical Latin y > Vulgar Latin ɨ [ɪ] and is then raised to Capestranese i [i]. For example, avāritīam > avarizja (avarice), consīlīum > kunzijje (advice), cīlīum > čijje (brow), *buttīcŭlam > bbutikkja (bottle), lentīcŭlam > lendikkja (lentil).

Classical Latin e and oe

Classical Latin e [e:] and the diphthong oe [oe], which apparently merged with e very early, consistently become Capestranese e [e]. For example, candēlam > kannela (candle), crēdere > krede (to believe), habere > avé (to have), plēnam > pjena (full), videre > vede (to see), and foenum > fene (hay), poenam > pena (pain).

Classical Latin ě and ae

Classical Latin ě [e] may become either Capestranese e [e] or ae [æ]. The development is not dictated by any distributional feature and is therefore unpredictable. For example, agnēllum > añejje (lamb), fēmīnam > fémmena (woman), stēllam > stella (star), vēndere > venne (to sell), as well as fēstam > fæsta (feast), pērdere > pærde (to lose), sēptem > sætte (seven), sēmpet > sæmbre (always), pērsīcam > pærzeka (peach). The presence of yod in the following syllable has no particular effect on this development. We find, for example, mēlius > mejje (better), as well as mēdium > meezze (means) and māteriam > Vulgar Latin matéria > mataerja (pus). In some instances it is evident that the development is being conditioned by metaphony. For example, bēllum > bbejje but bēllam > bbælla (beautiful), bōtēllum > vudejje or gudejje (intestine) but the

plural for the same word is vudeella or gudælla < *botélla, Vulgar Latin veclu > vekkje but the feminine form is vecla > vækkja (old). An interesting case is the adjective těněrum > tinnere as opposed to těněram > ténnera (tender). Here metaphony is in operation, but the masculine form undergoes a shift upward beyond the expected range, thus preserving the masculine-feminine differentiation which would expectedly be *tennere and *tænnēra. A few cases can be found in which Classical Latin ě diphthongizes. For example, děcem > djeće (ten), hěrbam > jaerva (grass), hěri > jere (yesterday), měl > mjele (honey). This pattern is rare and it may indicate the intrusion of a Standard Italian pattern into Capestranese. In the data consulted there is one occurrence of a development based on semantic differentiation. Classical Latin běstīam > Capestranese bbestja (a domestic animal) as well as bbæstja (a wild animal).

The Classical Latin diphthong ae [ae], which was reduced in ordinary speech to ę [ɛ], evolved in the same pattern as Classical Latin ě. For example, caelum > cele (sky), praemīum > premje (prize), saecūlum > seekwole (century).

Classical Latin ā and ă

Both ā [a:] and ă [a], which in common speech consolidated to a [a], remained as a [a] in Capestranese. For example, amāre > amă (to love), arātrum > arate (plow), bărbam > bbarba (beard), căpram > krapa (goat), ăgnus > ajne (newborn lamb), admīrātum > ammirate (admired). Sometimes a final -ī in Latin can affect the sound and raise it to either e [e] or æ [æ]. For example, cabāllum > kavajje (horse), but cabāllī > kævæjje (horses), ăltēr > atre (other) but ăltērī > etre (others). This pattern is widespread but inconsistent.

Classical Latin ō and au

Classical Latin ō [o:] consistently becomes o [o] in Capestranese. For example, dōlōrem > delore (pain), flōrem > fjore (flower), hōram > ora (hour), sapōnem > sapone (soap), sartōrem > sartore (tailor), vōcem > voče (voice). The Classical Latin diphthong au [au] is found widespread in Vulgar Latin as o [o] and ɔ [ɔ] but apparently the two sounds merge early and evolve to o [o] in Capestranese. For example, aurum > ore (gold), aut > o (or), caudam > koda (tail), causam > kosa (thing), sāgmam > Vulgar Latin sauma > soma (load).

Classical Latin ō

Classical Latin ō [o] may become either o [o] or ɔ [ɔ] in Capestranese. The general development is independent of any pattern of distribution and therefore unpredictable. For example, Classical Latin ō > Capestranese o in pōpŭlum > popɔle (people), mōntem > monde (hill), cōr > kore (heart), rōtam > rota (wheel), hōdīe > oije (today), but we find also cōxam > kɔssa (leg), ōrganum > ɔrgene (organ), ōpĕra > ɔpra (opera), prōpriŭm > prɔpje (very), Vulgar Latin sōcera > sɔ́cera (mother-in-law) where ō > Capestranese ɔ [ɔ]. It may be noted that the examples listed above involve ō in free and checked positions, in masculine and feminine words, and with as well as without the influence of yod in the following syllable.

A tentative pattern may be set forth. The development of Latin ō in adjectives as they modify a masculine or a feminine noun and in nouns which have a masculine and a feminine form is frequently influenced by metaphony. In these cases if the final vowel of the Capestranese word develops to a, the tonic vowel becomes ɔ [ɔ]; otherwise the ō [o] tends to remain. For example, cōctum > kotte but cōctam > kɔtta (cooked), grōssum > rosse but grōssam > rɔssa (big), nōstrum > nostre but nōstram > nɔstra (our), mōrtŭum > Vulgar Latin mɔrtu > morte but mōrtŭam > Vulgar Latin mɔrta > morta (dead),

as well as porcum > porke (boar) but porcam > porka (sow), socer > sočere (father-in-law) but Vulgar Latin sócera > sóčera (mother-in-law). The adjectives longum and longam, while exhibiting the effect of metaphony in their development to Capestranese, undergo an upward shift and develop respectively as lunge and longa (long) rather than the expected *longe and *longa. However, the exceptions to the effect of this pattern are numerous. For example, bonum > bbone but bonam > bona (good), novum > ñove but novam > ñova (new), nonnum > nonne (grandfather), nonnam > nonna (grandmother).

Classical Latin ū

Classical Latin ū [u:] consistently becomes Capestranese u [u]. For example, consūtūram > kušetura (seam), frūctum > frutte (fruit), lūmen > lume (oil lamp), lūnam > luna (moon), mūrum > mure (wall).

Classical Latin ŭ

Classical Latin ŭ [u] generally becomes Capestranese o [o]. For example, bŭccam > vokka (mouth), crŭcem > kroče (cross), gŭlam > gola (throat), mŭlgere > moñe (to milk), genŭcŭlum > jenokkje (knee). When the consonant or consonant cluster which follows the ŭ

develops in Capestranese as a nasal geminate, ŭ is affected by metaphony and develops to o [o] if the final vowel of the word is a [a] and to u [u] otherwise. For example, colūmnam > kolonna (column), palūmbam > palomma (dove) but fūndum > funne (bottom), lūmbum > lumme (back), mūndum > munne (world), nūmerum > nummære (number).

Metaphony also affects the development of ŭ in some adjectives. For example, sūrdum > surde but sūrdam > sorda (deaf), cūrtum > kurte but cūrtam > korta (short), dūplum > duppje but dūplam > doppja (double).

The presence of yod in the following syllable tends to maintain ŭ as u [u] in Capestranese. For example, pŭtēum > puzze (well), strŭthŭo > struzze (ostrich).

Countertonic vowels

Latin vowels bearing secondary stress are called countertonic. Secondary stress falls on the vowel of the second syllable from the tonic, and may precede or follow the tonic syllable.¹⁶ Generally the countertonic vowel is that of the initial syllable if the vowel bearing secondary stress precedes the tonic vowel and that of the final syllable if the vowel bearing secondary stress follows the tonic vowel. This section of the study will be limited to the discussion of countertonic vowels which are neither initial nor final in the word. Vowels

in initial and final positions will be discussed under the headings Initial vowels and Final vowels respectively.

The articulation of counter-tonic vowels is more lax than that of the tonic vowels and, in Vulgar Latin, its qualitative and quantitative distinctions are not maintained with the same degree of rigor as for tonic vowels.¹⁷ Insofar as Capestranese is concerned, although the exceptions are frequent, a general development for counter-tonic vowels can be discerned as follows:

Classical Latin	\bar{i}	\bar{y} \bar{e} $\bar{ě}$	\bar{a} $\bar{ǣ}$	\bar{o} $\bar{ō}$	\bar{u} $\bar{ū}$
	↓	↓ ↓ ↓	↓	↓	↓
Vulgar Latin	i	e	a	o	u
	↓	↓ ↓	↓	↓ ↓	↓
Capestranese	[i]	[e][ø]	[a]	[ø][ə]	[u]

What is found, then, is a polarization of sorts to a four vowel system, three of which are the cardinal vowels of Capestranese and the other the central vowel /ə/. To illustrate some of these developments we may note cāpīstērīum > kapistere (large wooden tray), cōnsūtūram > Vulgar Latin cōsutūra > kušetura (seam), sōlīdum vālīdum¹⁸ > *solidātu¹⁹ > suldate (soldier), pīscatōrem > peskatore (fisherman), sūffocāre > seffeka (to choke), mēritāre > merda (to deserve), suffere > Vulgar Latin sufferire > suffri as well as seffri (to suffer), tūrbulāre > truvulá as well as trevela (to stir).

Initial vowels

Except for ā and ǣ initial vowels fall. For example, ǣgnēllum > anejje (lamb), Vulgar Latin *arripāre > arrivá (to arrive), admīrātum > ammirate (admired), but ecclesīam > kjesa (church), epīscōpum > veskeve (bishop), olīvam > liva (olive), aurīcūlam > Vulgar Latin oric'la > rekkja (ear).

Initial ĕ- of the prefix ĕx- falls. The remaining x simplifies to z [z] before nasal consonants and to s [s] otherwise. For example, ĕxmōvere > Vulgar Latin exmōvere > smove (to remove), *ĕxmerāre > smora (to polish), *ĕxnīdāre > snidá (to leave a safe place), *ĕxcūtūlāre > skutulá (to shake), ĕxplanāre > spjaná (to flatten), ĕxtēndēre > stæenne (to stretch).

Initial ĭ- of the prefix ĭn- falls. The remaining n retains the nasal quality but assimilates with the following sound in the place of articulation, thus it becomes m [m] before labials, n [n] before dentals and vowels, and ŋ [ŋ] before velars. For example, ĭnflōrīre > mbjurí (to bloom), ĭn sīnum > nzine (on the lap), ĭntēndēre > ndæenne (to understand), ĭn cōntra > ngondra (toward).

Pretonic non-initial vowels

Generally pretonic non-initial vowels bearing weak stress fall or are reduced to e [ə].

For example, affōcāre > affeká (to drown), carrīcāre > kareká (to load), rasīcāre > rašeká (to scrape), turbūlāre > trevelá (to stir).

If the initial vowel is ǎ or ā, the cardinal vowels ī, ǎ, ā, and ū (Vulgar Latin i, a, and u) remain in Capestranese as i, a, and u. For example, ǎdjūtāre > aiutá (to help), ǎdmīrātum > ammirate (admired), ǎdūltērīum > *adultériu > adulterje (adultery), amatōrem > amatore (lover). Pretonic weak stressed ī and ē remain as i [i] if the tonic syllable contains yod. For example, pārtītiōnem > partizjone (partition), ǎllēvīāre > allivjá (to alleviate). In rare cases, if the countertonic vowel which precedes the stressed syllable is cardinal, the weak stressed vowel may assimilate to it and remain. For example, cūm sōbrīnum > kunzubbrine (first cousin), and tūrbūlāre > truvulá (to stir), the latter a doublet with trevela.

Posttonic non-final vowels

All Classical Latin vowels in posttonic non-final position weaken. Generally they are reduced to ə, but they may fall altogether to allow the formation of a consonant cluster permissible in Capestranese. For example, ōrgānum > orgene (organ), mācūlam > mac'la > makkja (spot), cāmēram > cam'ra > kambra (room), cīvītas > čiveta (city), ārbōrem > albere (tree).

In proparoxytones which end in -cŭlum, -cŭlam, -gŭlum, -gŭlam, the first -ŭ- may > -w- (the velar glide [w]) in which case an epenthetic ə develops as a support vowel between the glide and the following l so that the forms develop respectively as -kwəle, -kwəla, -gwəle, and -gwəla. For example, saecŭlum > sækwəle (century), craticŭlam > ratikwəla (grill), angŭlum > angwəle (angle), rēgŭlam > regwəla (rule).

Final unstressed vowels

In the development to Capistranese all the final consonants of Vulgar Latin fall. The vowels which as a result of the apocopation become final develop as follows: a [a] remains; all other vowels weaken to ə [ə] or [ø]. For example, auricŭlam > oric'la > rekka (ear), ecclesiam > kjesa (church), arātrum > arate (plow), amatōrem > amatore (lover), aprilem > abbrile (April), vētŭlum > Vulgar Latin vec'lu > vekkje (old).

Initial Single Consonants

Initial b

Early after the Classical Latin period, "...intervocalic b becomes a voiceless spirant [b̥], and by the third century after Christ was identical with y...

so that b and v were often written incorrectly for each other."²⁰ Apparently in Capestranese this evolution of Latin b occurred also in initial position where it develops in two major directions: bb [b:] or v [v]. The first development is probably to be attributed to overcorrection; the second to a merging of Vulgar Latin [b] with [v]. The two developments may be illustrated as follows: barōnem > bbarone (baron), bāsium > bbaše (kiss), bībēre > bbeve (to drink), bēllam > bbēlla (beautiful), *buttīcūlam > bbuttijja (bottle), and bracae > vrake (trousers), būllire > Vulgar Latin būllere > volle (to boil), būttem > votte (barrel), būccam > vokka (mouth). Rarely there occur divergent developments toward both bb and v. For example, bōvem > bbove and vove (steer), bāsta > bbasta and vasta (enough).

Initial c

As is common in many of the Romance Languages, the development of Latin c- [k] into Capestranese depends on the vowel that follows it. While front vowels tend to palatalize the Latin [k] eventually to the affricate č- [tʃ] of Capestranese, central and back vowels leave it relatively unaffected as [k]. For example, cēntum > čende (one hundred), cerāsēam > čeraša (cherry), cěrvum > červe (deer), caelum > cele (sky), cīlīum > čijje (brow),

cīvitas > ćiveta (city), cīrcāre > ćerka (to seek), but
cāmēram > kambra (room), caput > kape (chief), caudam >
koda (tail), cōquēre > Vulgar Latin cōcere > koče (to
 cook), Vulgar Latin compānio > kembañe (companion),
cōr > kore (heart), cūltēllum > kurteije (knife),
cūppam > koppa (cup).

Initial d

The Classical Latin d- [d] in initial position remains as d- [d]. Both in Latin and in Capestranese the sound [d] is a voiced dental stop. For example, dāre > da (to give), dēbitum > debbete (debt), dīcere > diče (to say), domīnicam > demeneka (Sunday), dūplum > duppje (double).

Initial f

The Classical Latin f- [f] in initial position remains as f- [f]. Both in Latin and in Capestranese the sound [f] is a voiceless labiodental fricative. For example, fābam > fava (bean), Februārius, which is found in inscriptions as Febrārius, > frëbbare (February), fībūlam > fibbja (brooch), fīnīre > fernī (to finish), fōcum > foke (fire), fūnem > fune (rope).

Initial g

Like initial c-, the development of Classical Latin g- is conditioned by the vowel that follows it. After central and back vowels, g- [g] remains as g- [g] in Capestranese, while after front vowels it becomes j [j]. For example, gallum > gajje (rooster), gūlam > gola (throat), güttūlam > gottela (drop), but gelāre > jela (to freeze), gēnērum > jenere (son-in-law), genūcūlum > jenokkje (knee), gēlum > jele (ice). In rare cases Classical Latin g- before front vowels yields a ff- [d:ʒ] in Capestranese. We find, for example, Germanīa > ffermanja (Germany), gēntem > ffeende (people), gēntilem > ffendile (gentle). This pattern of development is probably composed of words which Capestranese borrowed from Italian. For example, even though ffeende is used in Capestranese, the more popular word for "people" is kristiene > christiānī (the singular form meaning "person" is kristiane > christiānum); likewise the more popular word for "gentle" is cuile < civilem.

Initial h

Initial h-, originally articulated [ç] before front vowels and [x] before back vowels, in Classical Latin had weakened to [h] and in Late Latin had weakened

to the point where there was confusion as to its presence or absence in the word. It was lost entirely in Romance²¹ and leaves no trace in its development to Capestranese. For example, habēre > avé (to have), hērbam > jeerva (grass), hibērnum > imмерne (winter), hōdiē > ojje (today), hōram > ora (hour), hōrtum > orte (garden).

Initial j

Initial j- [j], a semiconsonant in Latin, remains as j- [j] in Capestranese. For example, jacēre > jačé (to lie down), jactāre > jettá (to throw away), jocāre > jeká (to play), jōcum > joke (yoke), jūmentam > jemenda (mare).

Initial l

The initial l- of Latin remains in Capestranese as l-. For example, lāctem > latte (milk), lācum > lake (lake), lēctum > lette (bed), lībrum > libbre (book), lōcum > loke (place), lūmbum > lumme (back), lūnen > lume (oil lamp). However, while Latin l- is articulated as a dental or palatal before front vowels and as a velar before back vowels,²² Capestranese l- in corresponding environments is articulated as a dental and as an alveolar respectively.

Initial m

The initial m- [m] of Latin remains consistently as m- [m] in Capestranese. For example, mācŭlam > makkja (spot), mēdīcum > medekə (physician), mīttēre > mette (to place), mŭndum > munne (world), mŭrum > mure (wall).

Initial n

The initial n- of Latin remains consistently as n- in Capestranese. For example, nāvem > nave (boat), nēbŭlam > nebbja (fog), nīdum > nide (nest), nōstrum > nostrə (our), nŭcem > noće (nut). Both Latin and Capestranese n- are articulated as voiced dental nasals [n].

Initial p

The initial p- [p] of Latin remains consistently as p- [p] in Capestranese. For example, pācem > paće (peace), pānem > pane (bread), paucum > poke (little), pēctum > pette (chest), pīnnam > penna (feather, pen), pōntem > ponde (bridge), pŭtēum > puzze (well).

Initial gu

The initial gu- [kw] of Latin remains consistently as kw- [kw] in Capestranese. For example, quaestōrem > kwēstore (questor), quāto > kwandē (how much?), quādo > kwandē (when). The relative pronouns quem and qui, however, lose the labial feature and develop as kē and kī respectively. Quīnque and its compound forms like quīnquāgīnta and quīnquēcēntum lose their labiality through dissimilation and become respectively ćingwe, ćingwanda, and ćingwēcēnde.

Initial r

The initial r- of Latin remains consistently as r- in Capestranese. For example, rasicāre > raśeká (to scrape), rationem > rajjonē (reason), rēgere > ræffe (to hold), respondere > responne (to answer), ripam > ripa (rock), rōtam > rota (wheel). Latin [r] is trilled and dental²³; Capestranese [r] is flapped and alveolar.

Initial s

The initial s- [s] of Classical Latin generally remains as s- [s] in Capestranese. In both Latin and Capestranese [s] is a voiceless dental sibilant. For example, sāguis > sangwe (blood), sartōrem > sartore (tailor), secāre > sēka (to saw), sīlvam > selva (forest),

sōlem > sole (sun), sūcum > suke (juice). In a number of words s- > ś- [ʃ] before front vowels and z- [t:s] or z- [d:z] before back vowels. Most, but by no means all, of the words in this group derive from Arabic. For example, sorug > śirəkke (sirocco), sarab > śiroppe (syrup), but sulphur > zolfe (sulfur), saburra > zavorra (small flat stone). Since this pattern affects some developments of Capestranese words and not their cognates in Italian, there is no strong reason to suggest that this pattern is adopted into Capestranese through Italian. For example, sīc > śi in Capestranese but si in Italian. However, it could also be stipulated that the pattern entered Capestranese through Italian and the words which exhibit the pattern in Capestranese and not in Italian were affected by analogy once the pattern had been established in Capestranese.

Initial t

The initial t- [t] of Latin consistently remains as t- [t] in Capestranese. Both Latin and Capestranese [t] are dental. For example, tābŭlam > tāvela (table), tēmpus > tembe (weather), tēnēre > tene (to hold), tērram > tœrra (earth), turbŭlāre > trēvela (to stir).

Initial v

The initial v- [w], a semiconsonant in Latin, develops consistently as a labiodental [v] in Capestranese. For example, vāccam > vakka (cow), vētŭlum > Vulgar Latin veclu > vekkje (old), vēndēre > venne (to sell), vērēcŭndīam > vrəvoňa (shame), vīdēre > vode (to see), vīnēam > viňa (vineyard), vōcem > voće (voice), vŭlpem > volpe (fox).

Initial consonant clusters

In Classical Latin, in initial position, the following clusters may occur: bl-, br-, cl-, cr-, fl-, fr-, gl-, gr-, pl-, pr-, sc-, scr-, sp-, spl-, spr-, st-, str-, dr-, sm-, ps-, mn-, gn-, pt-. All but the last six provide etyma for words which evolve into Capestranese. For the sake of brevity in this and the following sections only one example of each sound change will be offered when listing clusters. The initial consonant clusters of Classical Latin develop into Capestranese as follows:

bl- [bl] > bbj- [b:j]: blāncum > bbjange (white)

br- [br] > vr- [vr]: bracae > vrake (trousers)

cl- [kl] > kj- [kj]: clamāre > kjamā (to call)

cr- [kr] > kr- [kr]: crēdēre > kredē (to believe).

Sometimes cr- [kr] may > *gr- [gr] > r- [r]:

craticŭlam > ratikwela (grill)

fl- [fl] > fj- [fj]: flōrem > fjore (flower)

fr- [fr] > fr- [fr]: frūmentum > frumende (corn)

gl- [gl] > j- [j]: glāciem > jačče (ice)

gr- [gr] > r- [r]: grānum > rane (wheat)

pl- [pl] > pj- [pj]: plāntam > pjanda (plant)

pr- [pr] > pr- [pr]: prātum > prate (meadow)

sc- (+a, o, u) [sk] > sk- [sk]: scāla > skala

(ladder). The Capestranese word is singular.

sc- (+e, i) [sk] > ś- [ʃ]: scintīllam > śindilla

(spark)

scr- [skr] > skr- [skr]: scribēre > skrive (to write)

sp- [sp] > sp- [sp]: spātŭlam > spalla (shoulder)

spl- [spl] > spj- [spj]: splēniātum > spjenate

(plastered)

spr- [spr] > spr- [spr]: sprētīo > sprezze

(contempt)

st- [st] > st- [st]: stāre > sta (to be, to stay)

str- [str] > str- [str]: stringēre > streñe (to

tie)

Some generalizations may be made concerning the preceding developments:

1. Most initial clusters not ending in l remain relatively unaffected.

2. In clusters ending in l, the l consistently palatalizes to ɺ [j].

3. While initial b- > bb- or v- with no apparent discrimination, in initial clusters the distribution is more precise. When followed by l, b consistently gains in length to bb; when followed by r, b consistently becomes the labiodental v.

4. Initial g- palatalizes only before front vowels. Supported by the palatalization of the l, the gl- cluster palatalizes before all vowels.

5. In the gr- cluster, the g- is absorbed by the following r.

Medial single consonants

Medial b

In Classical Latin b was articulated as [p] before g and t and as [b] in all other environments. However, by the third century A.D. it had become the voiced bilabial fricative [ɸ]²⁴ much like present day Spanish intervocalic /b/ (orthographic b or v). By the third century A.D., Classical Latin y was also articulated as a voiced bilabial fricative, so that, at that time, there was considerable confusion of the two letters.²⁵ Perhaps as a result of the confusion of

earlier times, intervocalic -b- develops into Capestranese as -v- [v] or as -bb- [b:] with no apparent pattern. In data surveyed for this study the -b- to -v- development occurs 73% of the time while the -b- to -bb- occurs 27% of the time. For example, fābam > fava (bean), bībēre > bbeve (to drink), habēre > avé (to have), scribēre > skrive (to write), tābŭlam > távola (table), as well as dēbītum > debbete (debt), fībŭlam > fibbia (brooch), tribūtum > tribbute (tribute), rabīam > rabbia (anger).

Medial c

In Classical Latin medial -c- was articulated as [k] and ranged from palatal to velar depending on the vowel which followed. By the second century A.D. -c- before front vowels was becoming a palatal fricative²⁶ while remaining a velar stop before a and back vowels. Apparently the separation of the two sounds became more and more marked and in present day Capestranese we find Classical Latin -c- > -ć- [tʃ] before front vowels and -k- [k] before central and back vowels. For example, cīmīcem > ćimeće (bedbug), vīcīnum > vićine (neighbor), pīcēam which underwent a declension shift to *pīcem > peće (pitch), dīcēre > diće (to say), pācem > paće (peace), but paucum > poke (a little), amīcum > amike (friend),

iocāre > ioka (to play), lācum > lake (lake),
affocāre > affeká (to drown).

Medial d

Except when followed by yod, Classical Latin medial -d- consistently remains as -d- in Capestranese. For example, caudam > koda (tail), pēdem > pede (foot), tēpidum > tepede (lukewarm), nīdum > nide (nest), vīdere > vede (to see). In both Latin and Capestranese -d- is articulated as a voiced dental stop. When followed by yod Classical Latin -d- may > -zz-, -íí-, or -ii-.

Medial f (and f < Greek ph)

Medial -f- consistently remains as -f- in Capestranese. For example, profēssīōnem > professjone (profession), trīfōlīum > trefojje (clover), raphānēllum > rafanejje (radish), scrōfam > skrofa (sow). A labiodental in Classical Latin time,²⁷ -f- remains a labiodental in Capestranese.

Medial g

In Classical Latin -g- was articulated as [g], ranging from a palatal to a velar stop depending on whether

a front or a back vowel followed the [g].²⁸ Possibly during the first century A.D. -g- before e and i became an alveolopalatal fricative and later its place of articulation moved even farther forward and developed like -d-,²⁹ in some cases being absorbed by the following vowel. When it was not absorbed by the following e or i, -g- > the affricate -ff- [d:ʒ]. Before central and back vowels -g- remained -g- [g] in Capestranese. For example, rĕgĕre > ræffe (to hold), lĕgĕre > læffe (to read), pāgĕllam > paiffælla (report card), pāgĭnam > páiffena (page), rĕgĭnam > reiffina (queen), but figŭram > figura (figure), plāgam > piaga (wound), paganum > pagane (pagan), regalāre > regalá (to give as a gift), pagāre > pagá (to pay).

Medial l

Except when followed by yod, Classical Latin -l- [l] remains consistently as -l- [l] in Capestranese. For example, fĭlum > file (thread), dolōrem > delore (pain), caelum > cele (sky), sōlem > sole (sun), candēlam > kannela (candle). Latin [l] is articulated as a dental or palatal before front vowels and as a velar before back vowels.³⁰ In corresponding environments Capestranese [l] is articulated respectively as dental and alveolar. When followed by yod Classical Latin -l- is absorbed by the yod.

Medial m

Medial -m- [m] generally remains as -m- [m] in Capestranese. For example, amāre > amá (to love), clamāre > kjamá (to call), lūmen > lume (oil lamp), nōmen > nome (name), cīmīcem > ćimeće (bedbug). In proparoxytones which contain another nasal the -m- increases in length to -mm- [m:]. For example, nūmērum > nummēra (number), hōmīnem > ommene (man), fēmīnam > fēmmēna (woman).

Medial n

Except when followed by yod, medial -n- [n] remains as -n- [n] in Capestranese. For example, foenum > fene (hay), asīnum > asene (donkey), cānem > kane (dog), fūnem > fune (rope), lūnam > luna (moon). Under the influence of another nasal in the same word, -n- may dissimilate to -l-. For example, anīmam > alma (soul). However, this pattern is inconsistent; one may also find domīnīcam > demēneka (Sunday), in which no dissimilation occurs. The combination -ni- > -ñ- [ɲ].

Medial p

Generally medial -p- [p] remains as -p- [p] in Capestranese. For example, pōpŭlum > popele (people),

crepāre > křepa (to split), rīpam > řipa (rock),

sapōnem > sapone (soap), vīpěram > vīpera (viper).

There are cases in which -p- > -v- such as epīscōpum > veskeve (bishop), trōpāre > treva (to find), *arripāre > arrivá (to arrive). However, this pattern is infrequent. In a number of conjugated verb forms, -pi- > -čč- [t:f].

Medial r

Medial -r- [r] remains as -r- [r] in Capestranese. For example, aurum > ore (gold), mūrum > mure (wall), vērūm > vere (true), līttěram > léttera (letter), hōram > ora (hour). The only exception to this pattern is the -r- which occurs as part of the infinitive form of verbs. This r falls along with the final e. For example, īre > i (to go), stāre > sta (to be, to stay). Both Classical Latin and Capestranese [r] are liquid consonants. However, Latin [r] is a dental trill.³¹ Capestranese [r] is an alveolar flap.

Medial s

Except before yod and sometimes before ī or ī medial -s- [s] remains as -s- [s] in Capestranese. For example, asīnum > asene (donkey), basīlīcam > bbasileka (basilica), causam > kosa (thing), čāsam > kasa (house),

rōsam > rosa (rose). Before yod -s- consistently palatalizes to -ś- [ʃ]. Sometimes -sī- [si] also palatalizes to -ś- [ʃ]. For example, raścāre > raśeká (to scrape), quasī > kwaśe (almost). It is possible for this pattern to have arisen by analogy with initial s- that > [ʃ] but the suggestion, at least for the present, is mere speculation.

Medial t

Except before yod medial -t- [t] remains consistently as -t- [t] in Capestranese. For example, aetas > etá (age), amātum > amate (loved), catēnam > katena (chain), cīvitas > čiveta (city), crētam > kreta (clay). In both Classical Latin and Capestranese the articulation of [t] is dental.

Medial v

The medial -v- [w] of Latin consistently becomes -v- [v] in Capestranese. For example, nīvem > neve (snow), captivum > kattive (evil, bad), ūvam > uva (grape), bōvem > bbove or vove (steer).

Medial geminates

The data analyzed for the discussion of the development of Latin geminates into Capestranese consist of words which contain double consonants in Classical Latin.

The following developments may be discerned:

-bb- [b:] > -bb- [b:]: abbātem > abbate (abbot)

-cc- (+a, o, u) [k:] > -kk- [k:]: būccam > vokka
(mouth)

-cc- (+e, i) [k:] > -cc- [t:f]: occīdēre >
aččide (to kill)

-dd- [d:] > -dd- [d:]: addōrmīre > addermí (to
fall asleep)

-ff- [f:] > -ff- [f:]: affōcāre > affeká (to
drown)

-ll- [l:] > -ll- [l:]: bēllam > bbeella
(beautiful), but -llum [l:um] > -lje [j:ə].

For example, bēllum > bbeije (beautiful)

-mm- [m:] > -mm- [m:]: inflāmmāre > mbjammá (to
set on fire)

-nn- [n:] > -nn- [n:]: ānnum > anne (year)

-pp- [p:] > -pp- [p:]: cūppam > koppa (cup)

-rr- [r:] > -rr- [r:]: tērram > tērra (earth)

-ss- [s:] > -ss- [s:]: grōssum > rosse (big)

-tt- [t:] > -tt- [t:]: bāttēre > vatte (to strike)

Except for -cc- (+e, i) and -llum, medial
geminates may be considered stable.

Primary consonant clusters in medial position

Primary consonant clusters include those groups of two or more consonants which exist in Classical Latin and exclude those groups formed as a result of vocalic syncope.

The following list includes the medial clusters observed in all the etyma for the words analyzed for this study; they do not represent all the possible medial combinations which can occur in Classical Latin.

-bl- [bl] > -bb- [b:l]: obligāre > ubbligá
(to obligate)

-br- [br] > -bbr- [b:r]: lībrum > libbre (book)
-bs- [ps]³² > -ss- [s:]: absōlvēre > assolve
(to absolve)

-bst- [pst]³³ > -st- [st]: abstemīum > astemje
(a person who abstains from alcoholic
beverages)

-bt- [pt]³⁴ > -tt- [t:]: subtilem > settile
(thin)

-ccl- [k:l] > -kkj- [k:j]: acclārāre > akkjará
(to rinse)

-cl- [kl] > -kj- [kj]: dēclārāre > dəkjará (to
propose marriage)

-cr- [kr] > -kr- [kr]: lācrīmam > lákrema (tear)

-ct- [kt] > -tt- [t:]: lāctem > latte (milk)

-dm- [dm] > -mm- [m:]: admīttēre > ammette (to
admit)

-dr- [dr] > -dr- [dr]: Adriātīcum > adriateke
(Adriatic)

-dv- [dw] > -vv- [v:]: advērtīre > avvertí (to
warn)

-fl- [fl] > -fj- [fj]: reflātāre > refjatá (to
breathe)

-fr- [fr] > -fr- [fr]: Afrīcam > áfreka (Africa)

-gm- [gm] > -um- [um] > -m- [m]: sagmam > sauma >
soma (load), the u merging with a to > o

-gn- [ɲn]³⁵ > -ñ- [ɲ], possibly through a process
whereby [ɲn] > [gn] > [jn] > [nj] > [ɲ]:
agnēllum > añejje (lamb). Rarely, we find
forms petrified before the metathesis occurs,
as in āgnus > ajne (newborn lamb)

-gr- [gr] > -r- [r]: nīgrum > nire (black)

-lb- [lb] > -lb- [lb]: albam > alba (dawn)

-lc- (+a, o, u) > -lək [lək], that is, an
epenthetic [ə] develops between the two
existing sounds as in calcārīam > kaləkara
(kiln). I have found one development in
which -lc- > -rk-: calcūlāre > karkulá (to
esteem). However, the dissimilation may
have occurred late and the development may
be sporadic rather than indicate a pattern.

-lc- (+i, e) [lk] > -č- [tʃ], -uc- [utʃ], -več-
[vətʃ], that is, c develops as expected;
l vocalizes and may be absorbed by the

preceding vowel, or may remain, or may fall into [v] from Latin v [w] developing an epenthetic e. For example, dŭlcem > doće (sweet), fălcem > făuće (scythe), călcem > kaveće (lime mortar).

-lcr- [lkr] > -lgr- [lgr]: sěpŭlcrum > sěpulgre (sepulcher)

-lm- [lm] > -lm- [lm]: ŭlmum > ulmē (elm tree)

-lp- [lp] > -lp- [lp]: cŭlpam > kolpa (blame)

-ls- [ls] > -lz- [ldz], -vez- [vets], that is, the l may remain in which case it voices the [s] to [z]; [z] then evolves to [d:z] since Capestranese has [z] only as part of the affricate [d:z]. The other possibility is for l to vocalize and fall into [v] from Latin v [w] developing an epenthetic e. For example, fălsūm > both falze and faveze (false)

-lt- [lt] > -ld- [ld]: saltāre > saldá (to jump); if the word contains another l or ll, the l of the cluster may dissimilate to r and leave the t unaffected, as in cŭltěllum > kurtejje (knife)

-lv- [lu] > -lv- [lv]: sŭlvam > selva (forrest)

-mb- [mb] > -mm- [m:]: lŭmbum > lumme (back of a person or animal)

-mbr- [mbr] > -mbr- [mbr]: ūmbram > ombra
(shade)

-mn- [mn] > -nn- [n:]: sōmnum > sunne (sleep)

-mpl- [mpl] > -mbj- [mbj]: īmplīre > mbjīf (to
fill)

-mpt- [mpt] > -nd- [nd]: prōmptus > pronde
(ready)

-nc- (+a, o, u) [ŋk] > -ng- [ŋg]: trūncum >
tronge (trunk)

-nc- (+e, i) [ŋk] > -nf- [ndʒ]: vīncere > venfe
(to win)

-nct- [ŋkt] > -nd- [nd]: sānctum > sande (saint)

-nd- [nd] > -nn- [n:]: vēndere > venne (to sell)

-nf- [nf] > -mb- [mb]: infāntilem > mbandile
(infantile)

-nfl- [nfl] > -mbj- [mbj]: inflāmmare > mbjammā
(to set on fire)

-ng- (+a, o, u) [ŋg] > -ng- [ŋg]: lōngum > lunge
(long); in some instances the [g] may
palatalize to [j] and the [ŋj] > -ñ- [ɲ] as
in fūngum > fuñe (mushroom)

-ng- (+e, i) [ŋg] > -nf- [ndʒ]: angēlum > anfele
(angel); in some instances the [g] may
palatalize to [j] and the [ŋj] > -ñ- [ɲ] as
in plāngere > pjañe (to cry)

-ns- [ns] > -nz- [ndʒ]: mānsum > manze (tame);
if the Classical Latin -ns- simplifies in

Vulgar Latin to -ss-, then -ss- loses the compensatory length and develops as -s-, as in spōnsam > Vulgar Latin ispōssa > sposa (fiancée)

-nstr- [nstr] > -str- [str]: monstrāre > mustrá (to show)

-nt- [nt] > -nd- [nd]: cantāre > kandá (to sing)

-nv- [nw] > -mm- [m:]: in vīcem > immeče (instead)

-pl- [pl] > -ppj- [p:j]: dūplum > duppje (double)

-ppl- [p:l] > -ppj- [p:j]: applicāre > appjeká (to apply)

-ppr- [p:r] > -ppr- [p:r]: appretīare > apprezzá (to value)

-pr- [pr] > -pr- [pr]: sūprā > sopra (above);

often the r metathesizes to the initial syllable if the resulting cluster is acceptable within the phonological system of Capestranese, as in cāpram > krapa (goat)

-ps- [ps] > -ss- [s:]: īpse > isse (he)

-pt- [pt] > -tt- [t:]: sēptem > sette (seven)

-rb- [rb] > -rb- [rb]: bārbam > bbarba (beard);

the presence of another r in the word may cause -rb- to dissimilate to -lb-, as in ārbōrem > albore (tree)

-rc- (+a, o, u) [rk]: mercātum > mørkate (market)

-rc- (+e, i) [rk] > -rc- [rtʃ]: cărcērem >

karćele (jail)

-rd- [rd] > -rd- [rd]: sŭrdum > surde (deaf)

-rg- (+a, o, u) [rg] > -rg- [rg]: lărgum > large

(wide)

-rg- (+e, i) [rg] > -rf- [rdʒ]: argēntum >

arfende (silver)

-rm- [rm] > -rm- [rm]: fŏrmam > forma (ditch)

-rn- [rn] > -rn- [rn]: cărnem > karne (meat)

-rp- [rp] > -rp- [rp]: cŏrpus > korpe (body)

-rs- [rs] > -rz- [rts]: persŏnam > perzona (person)

-rt- [rt] > -rt- [rt]: sartŏrem > sartore (tailor)

-rv- [rw] > -rv- [rv]: cĕrvum > ćerve (deer)

-sc- (+a, o, u) [sk] > -sk- [sk]: mŭscam > moska

(fly)

-sc- (+e, i) [sk] > -śś- [ʃ:]: păscēre > paśśe

(to graze)

-sp- [sp] > -sp- [sp]: respŏndēre > responne

(to answer)

-st- [st] > -st- [st]: fĕstam > fĕesta (feast)

-str- [str] > -str- [str]: fenĕstram > fĕnĕestra

(window)

-tl- [tl] > -ttl- [t:l]: Atlăntĭcum > attlandeke

-tr- [tr] > -tr- [tr]: pătrēm > patre (father);

often the r metathesizes to the first

syllable, as in pĕtram > preta (stone)

-x- [ks] > -ss- [s:]: laxāre > lassá (to release)

-xc- [ksk] > -sk- [sk]: excūsāre > skusá (to excuse)

-xtr- [kstr] > -str- [str]: extractiāre > straććá (to tear)

A few generalizations may be made concerning primary and medial clusters:

1. While Classical Latin primary clusters may be made up of voiced and voiceless components, except for r and j which may exist in either voiced or voiceless environments, in Capestranese the whole cluster must be either voiced or voiceless. The force of assimilation here is quite marked. We may note the development of -lc- and -ls- to illustrate this force. Unless the l vocalizes, an epenthetic ə sets in to separate the voiced first element from the voiceless second element of the cluster.
2. Except in -bl- and -tl- which become respectively -bbl- and -ttl-, cluster final l of primary medial clusters palatalizes to [j].
3. Cluster initial nasals which remain after the Vulgar Latin period voice the remaining components of the cluster. When Classical Latin -ns- does not simplify in Vulgar Latin to -s-, n voices s [s] to [z]. Since Capestranese has [z] only as part of z [dz], the *[nz] (a probable intermediate development) evolves further to -nz- [ndz].

4. Except in -lp-, cluster initial l voices the rest of the cluster.
5. As a single consonant b may become either bb or v with no apparent pattern of distribution either in initial or medial positions. In the -br- cluster a pattern can be established: initially br- > vr-, medially -br- > -bbr-.
6. All Classical Latin primary medial clusters composed of more than three consonantal sounds simplify by losing the initial sound.
7. The medial clusters -bt-, -ct-, and -pt- > -tt-; that is, the first stop whether voiced or voiceless assimilates to the second, which as a result exhibits compensatory lengthening.
8. In primary medial clusters, cluster final r remains.

Secondary consonant clusters

Secondary consonant clusters are those which result from vocalic syncope. More often than not the vowel of the penult in proparoxytones remains as ə; in Capestranese the occurrence of secondary clusters is not as frequent as the following lengthy list might indicate. In the following items the first cluster supplied is a Vulgar Latin rendering and indicates the vocalic syncope which occurred roughly between the second and fourth

centuries A.D.; the last is present day Capestranese; all the intermediate steps are reconstructed and represent, at best, educated guesses on my part. In the examples offered to illustrate the evolution of the clusters, the first entry is Classical Latin, the second is the stage of the word after undergoing vocalic syncope, and the last is the form which occurs in present day Capestranese.

-b'l- [bɫ] > [bʌ] > -bbj- [b:j]: fībŭlam > fib'la > fibbja (brooch)

-c'l- [k:l] > [k:ʌ] > -kkj- [k:j]: măcŭlam > mac'la > makkja (spot)

-ff'r- [f:r] > -ffr- [f:r]: offĕrĭre > off'rĭre > uffrĭ (to offer)

-g'd- [gd] > [gd] > -dd- [d:]: frĭgĭdum > frig'du > fridde (cold)

-g'l- [gl] > [jl] > [lj] > [ʌ] > -jj- [j:]: coăgŭlum > coag'lu > kwajje (yogurt)

-l'd- [ld] > -ld- [ld]: sŏlĭdum > sol'du > solde (money)

-m'n- [mn] > -nn- [n:]: dŏmĭnam > dom'na > donna (lady)

-mp't- [mpt] > [mt] > [nt] > -nd- [nd]: compŭtāre > comp'tāre > kundá (to count)

-m'r- [m:r] > -mbr- [mbr]: cāmĕram > cam'ra > kambra (room)

-mp'r- [mpr] > -mbr- [mbr]: comparātum >

comp'ratu > kembrate (bought)

-m't- [mt] > [nt] > -nd- [nd]: cōmītem > com'te >

konde (count)

-nd'c- [ndk] > [ŋk] > [nj] > -ñ- [ɲ]: mandūcāre >

mand'cāre > mañá (to eat)

-ng'l- [ŋgl] > [ŋ:ʌ] > [n:j] > -ñ- [ɲ]: ūngūlam >

ong'la > oña (fingernail)

-n'l- [nl] > -ll- [l:]: spīnūlam > spin'la >

spilla (pin)

-n't- [nt] > -nd- [nd]: vanītāre > van'tāre >

vandá (to boast)

-p'l- [p:l] > [p:ʌ] > -ppj- [p:j]: cōpūlam >

cop'la > koppja (couple)

-p'r- [pr] > -pr- [pr]: apērīre > ap'rīre >

aprí (to open)

-r'c- (+e, i) [rts]³⁶ > [rtʃ] > -rj- [rdʒ]:

sōrīcem > sor'ce > sorje (mouse)

-r'd- [rd] > -rd- [rd]: lārīdum > lar'du > larde

(lard)

-r'l- [rl] > -rl- [rl]: parābōlāre > par'lāre >

parlá (to speak)

-r't- [rt] > -rd- [rd]: spīrītum > ispir'tu >

spirde (ghost)

-sc'l- [skl] > [skʌ] > -skj- [skj]: māscūlum >

masc'lu > maskje (male)

-ss'l- [s:l] > -śś- [ʃ:]: ǎssŭlam > ǎśśa (axe);

in this development the palatalization is probably to be attributed to analogy with s > ś pattern rather than a vocalization of the l

-t'l- [t:l] > -ll- [l:]: spătŭlam > spat'la >

spalla (shoulder)

-x'd- [ksd] > [sd] > -st- [st]: bŭxīdam > bux'da >

bbusta (envelope)

A few generalizations can be made concerning secondary consonant clusters:

1. Combinations of three consonants are reduced to two by syncope of the middle consonant. If the middle consonant is s, the first consonant of the cluster falls. The -m'r- cluster, whether it evolves from -mp'r- or -m'r-, develops a consonant glide [b] and becomes -mbr- [mbr].

2. Whether or not they result from the syncope of one of the consonants, secondary clusters composed of two consonants undergo a "compatibility assimilation" in which the whole cluster assumes the voiced/voiceless quality of the first consonant and the place of articulation of the second with the manner of articulation remaining the only distinguishing feature between the two sounds. For example, in -m't- of com'tare all the components of the cluster become voiced because the first

element of the cluster, [m], is voiced, and all the components become dental because the second element, [t], is dental; as a result -m't- [mt] > nd [nd].

Likewise, as in būxīdam > bbusta, once the initial stop has fallen from the -x'd- [ksd] cluster to yield [sd], the [d] becomes voiceless under the influence of the voiceless [s]. No further alteration is needed since [s] and [t] are both dental. This assimilation occurs in all cases except when the last element of the cluster is l, r, or j.

3. Two sounds, [r] and [l], behave differently depending on whether they occur in a primary or a secondary cluster. In a primary cluster [r] does not affect the following sound; in a secondary cluster [r] voices it. In a primary cluster [l] does not palatalize after [b]; in a secondary cluster it does.

Medial clusters ending in yod

The vowels ī and ē of Classical Latin were normally rendered as i [j] in Vulgar Latin when they occurred between a consonant and a vowel. In Capestranese territory the yod often exerted sufficient influence on the previous consonant or consonant cluster to alter it.

In the following list the first cluster supplied is a Vulgar Latin rendering, the others are Capestranese

renderings for that cluster. In the examples offered to illustrate each development, unless otherwise indicated, the first is the Classical Latin form, the second the Vulgar Latin form, and the third the Capestranese form.

-bi- [bj]: > -bbj- [b:j]: răbĭam > rabĭa >
rabbja (anger)

-ci- [tsj] > -zj- [tsj]: condĭcĭonem >
condiciōne > kundizjone (condition)

-cti- [ktsj] > -ćć- [t:f]: extrăctĭare >
extractiāre > straććā (to tear)

-ctione [ktsjone] > -zzjone [t:sjone]:
frăctĭonem > fractiōne > frazzjone
(subdivision)

-di- [dj] > -zz- [d:z], -ĭĭ- [d:z̥], -ji- [j:]:
mĕdĭum > medĭu > meezze, (means), sedĕam >
sedĭa > sejfa (chair), hōdĭe > hodie >
ojje (today). That is, the -di- cluster
may develop as an affricate with either an
alveolar or palatal sibilant release, or
the d may fall in which case the palatal
semivowel exhibits compensatory lengthening.

-gi- [sj] > -ĭĭ- [d:z̥]: relĭgĭonem > religiōne
relifjone (religion)

-li- [ʎ] > -jj- [j:]: alĭum > alĭu > ajje (garlic)

-lni- [lnj] > -ñ- [ɲ]: balnĕum > balnĭu > bbañe
(bath)

-lvi- [lvj] > -lvj- [lvj]: salviam > salvia >
salvia (sage)

-mbi- [mbj] > -ñ- [ɲ]: cambiāre > cambiāre > kaňá
 (to change)

-mi- [mj] > -mj- [mj], -mmj- [m:j]: praemium >
premiu > premie (prize), sīmiam > simia >
šimmja (monkey)

-mpti- [mptsj] > -nj- [ndʒ]: comptiāre > comptiāre
 > kunfá (to tan leather)

-nci- [ntsʃ] > -nj- [ndʒ]: bilānciam > bilāncia >
velanja (scale)

-ndi- [ndzj] > -ñ- [ɲ]: verēcūndiam > verecundia >
vrevoňa (shame)

-ngi- [ndzj] > -ñ- [ɲ]: spōngiam > ispongia >
spuňa (sponge)

-ni- [nj] > -ñ- [ɲ]: vīněam > vinia > viňa
 (vineyard)

-nti- [ntsʃ] > -nz- [ndz]: Vulgar Latin *antius³⁷
 > anze (rather)

-pi- [pj] > -pj- [pj]: propius > propius >
propje (very), in some verb forms -pi- [pj]

-cc- [t:ʃ]: sapio > sapio > sacće (I know)

-ri- [rj] > -rj- [rj]: māteriam > matéria >

matæria (pus), the suffix -ariu [arju] >

-are [are]: ferrarium > ferrariu > ferrare
 (blacksmith)

- rti- [rtsj] > -rz- [rts]: fōrtīam > fortia > forza (strength)
- sci- [stsj] > -śś- [ʃ:]: fascīam > fascia > faśśa (bandage)
- si- [sj] > -ś- [ʃ]: cāsēum > casju > kaśe (cheese)
- sti- [stj] > -stj- [stj]: běstīam > bestia > bbestja (animal)
- ti- [tsj] > -zz- [t:s] when posttonic: plātēam > platja > piazza (square), -ti- > -zj- [tsj] when pretonic: partītīōnem > partitiōne > partizjone (partition), in a number of cases apparently pretonic -ti- merged with -di- and > -ff- [d:ʒ]: ratīōnem > ratīōne > raffone (reason)
- vi- [wj] > -vj- [vj]: alleviāre > alleviāre > allivjā (to alleviate); frequently the labial segment of the cluster falls and -vi- > -j- [j]: cavēōlam > caviola > kajola (cage)

Concerning clusters ending in yod, it is possible to generalize that:

1. After r, st, and the labials b, p, v, m, (but not the -mbi- cluster) the yod remains.
2. Except in -ndi- and -sti-, after the dentals t, d, s, and c which in this environment merges early with t, the yod provides a dental or palatal sibilant release.

In the case of the s, the palatal release subsequently absorbs the s.

3. The clusters -lni-, -mbi-, -ndi-, -ngi-, -ni-, all of which include a nasal, become the palatal nasal -ñ-, [ɲ].

4. The cluster -li- loses its liquid feature and becomes -j- [j].

Final consonants

Capestranese has no words which end in a consonant. All final consonants of Latin fell in their development to Capestranese. For example, cīvītas > ćiveta (city), cāput > kape (chief), de ad pōst > dapó (after), frāter > frate (monk), lūmen > lume (oil lamp).

In verbs the final -re of the infinitive endings falls so that in the infinitive form first, second and fourth conjugation verbs are stressed on the last syllable and third conjugation verbs on the penultimate.

In monosyllables final -s may have vocalized to [j] which fell after raising the preceding vowel. The theory of -s > -i in Italian, advanced by D'Ovidio and supported by Meyer-Lübke, does not enjoy undisputed status. However, if the same pattern is accepted for Capestranese, the following developments may be explained: nos > *noj > nu (we), vos > *voj > vu (you),

illās > *las > *lai > le ('the' as a feminine plural article). It could be said, then, that final -s in monosyllables became -j and fell after raising the preceding vowel. However, the feminine article could be derived from the nominative illae > *elle > *le > le.

Chapter Five

CONCLUSIONS

In a study of this sort the conclusions that may be drawn are not the result of tested hypotheses, but rather a summary of the findings. The findings are significant for two reasons: first, they establish the diachronic development of a speech area and show yet another avenue of the development of Latin to General Romance; second, they provide a written record of Capestranese as it presently exists.

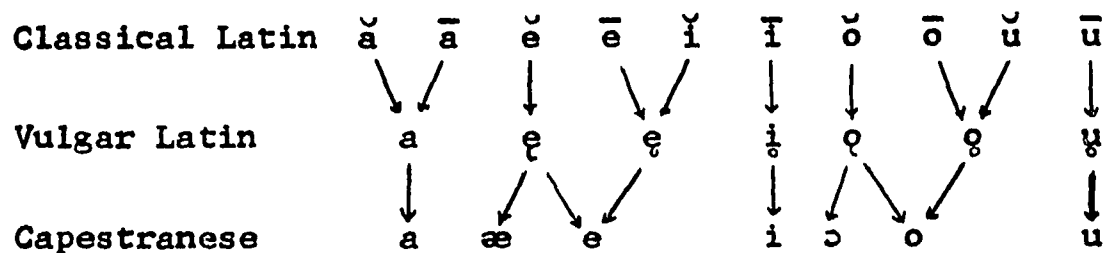
The establishment of the diachronic development in this case entails discovering the etymon for each word considered. In supplying the etyma, it is difficult to decide whether it is the nominative or accusative case of Latin that provides the etymon for the Capestranese nouns and adjectives. In some instances, the etymon is clearly a nominative form: for example, cīvītas > cīveta, strūthīo > struzze, cāput > kape, lūmen > lume, nōmen > nome; in other instances, the etymon is clearly an accusative, as in sartōrem > sartore, hōmīnem > ommene, sapōnem > sapone, unless one assumes that imparisyllabic nouns become parisyllabic. There is a basis for this assumption only if we accept that the development is partial. In nouns and adjectives coming from declensions other than the third, it is impossible to state with certainty whether the etymon

is a nominative or accusative form because both final -s and -m fall.

The following symmarizing and concluding remarks follow in general the presentation of the data in the fourth chapter of this study. There is some reorganization in presenting the discussion of the development of the consonants, and clusters are treated as a unit.

Tonic vowels

The development of tonic vowels is as follows:



In this scheme the process from Classical to "common Vulgar Latin"³⁸ is normal. Vocalic quantity as a distinctive feature is replaced by vocalic quality. Capestranese has the same number of vowels as Vulgar Latin. Except for Vulgar Latin ŏ, which may become either more open æ or more closed e, and Vulgar Latin ŏ, which also may become more open ɔ or more closed o than the Vulgar Latin source, the tonic vowels of Capestranese retain the quality they had in Vulgar Latin.

None of the Vulgar Latin vowels diphthongizes in its development to Capestranese.

The development of Vulgar Latin e and o, and more rarely ē and ō, may be affected by yod in the following syllable. When they are affected by yod, they are raised respectively to Capestranese e, o, i, and u. This effect is widespread but inconsistent and does not affect the cardinal vowels, i, a, u.

Vulgar Latin tonic mid vowels may be affected by metaphony. In this case, if the final vowel of the word is a, generally Vulgar Latin e tends to become Capestranese æ more frequently than it becomes e, and o tends to become ɔ more frequently than it becomes o. If the final vowel of the Capestranese word is e, Vulgar Latin e tends to become Capestranese e more frequently than æ, and Vulgar Latin o tends to become o more frequently than ɔ.

Vulgar Latin e and o, especially if they derive from Classical Latin ī and ū, may be affected by a following nasal, especially if the nasal is a geminate. The effect is to raise e and o to Capestranese i and u. Conditions such as position in free and checked syllable or the presence of wau in the next syllable seem to play no notable role in the development of tonic vowels.

Atonic Vowels

Except for a, atonic vowels generally undergo a weakening or centralization process. They become e or fall.

Single consonants

Classical Latin final consonants fall. Initial and medial single consonants are quite stable and generally retain the same value they held in Vulgar Latin.

By the seventh century A.D., the velar stops [k] and [g] before e and i had begun their palatalization,³⁹ and in standard Italian the development continued until the two sounds, merging respectively with [t] and [d], became the affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ]. In Capestranese, [g] before e and i in initial position has palatalized to [j] and does not exhibit the affricate [dʒ].

According to Roland Kent, by the third century A.D., Classical Latin b and y in initial and medial positions were identical.⁴⁰ In Capestranese, b sometimes merges with y, but the reverse is not true; Latin y never becomes Capestranese b. To state a cause for this development is speculative, but I think it possible that both Classical Latin b [b] and y [w] > [b] > [v]. At some stage, under the influence of Italian, the [b] was restored.

Consonant Clusters

With few exceptions clusters develop in the same way whether they are initial, medial primary, or medial secondary. Capestranese clusters are composed of either two or three consonants. The structure of three consonant clusters is limited to nasal or sibilant as the first element, stop as the medial element, and liquid or semivowel as the last element. The structure of two consonant clusters may be any of the following combinations: sibilant or nasal + stop, sibilant or nasal + liquid or semivowel, sibilant or nasal + stop, stop + liquid or semivowel. Within this structure there is a tendency for the components of the cluster to assimilate according to the voiced/voiceless quality of the first element and the place of articulation of the second.

Concerning the development of cluster final liquids, a difference may be noted. While r remains unaffected, l generally loses its liquid feature and palatalizes to j.

Clusters ending in yod

In clusters ending with yod, the yod can remain with the same quality; it may provide a dental or palatal

sibilant release for the rest of the cluster; or, as happens in most clusters that include a nasal, it may cause the whole cluster to become \tilde{n} [p]. The cluster lj loses its liquid feature and becomes [j]; that is, the yod absorbs the l.

Sporadic developments

Throughout the text I have included a number of developments which can be termed sporadic. The two occurring most frequently are dissimilation (near and distant) and metathesis. The alternation of r, l, and n for the purpose of dissimilation is perhaps as common in the development of Capestranese as it is in the major Romance languages. For example, anĭmam > alma (soul), in which n dissimilates to l because of the presence of another nasal in the word; ărbōrem > albēre (tree) and cărcērem > karcēle (jail), in which the r dissimilates to l in the presence of another r; cŭltĕllum > kurtejjē (knife), and calcŭlāre > karkulā (to esteem), in which the first l dissimilates to r in the presence of another l. In some instances the dissimilation may reach the point of double metathesis, as in anĭmālem > alimane (animal).

There are also occurrences of simple metathesis which involve the movement of r from a medial cluster to

the first syllable. For example, pětram > preta (stone) and februārius > frëbbare (February).

With the phonology defined and diachronic development established, there remain yet two tasks to be completed before Capestranese is defined: a study of morphology and an expansion of the written lexicon. The syntax is essentially Italian. When this is done, and when the other dialects of the immediate area are described in a similar way, then perhaps by a process of elimination we can arrive at conclusions concerning what remains of the languages of the Paeligni, Marsi, Vestini, and Aequi.

NOTES

2

In this study I consider Italian to be that Italian normally spoken in formal situations in Italy.

3

Kenneth L. Pike, Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1947), p. 159.

4

Ernst Pulgram, The Tongues of Italy, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 9.

5

There is widespread disagreement as to what language the Vestini spoke. The Corpus of Oscan-Umbrian Inscriptions does not list any entry for Capestrano itself, but lists two inscriptions for areas within ten miles of Capestrano.

6

W.D. Elcock, The Romance Languages, (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), p. 33; also Rebecca Posner, The Romance Languages: A Linguistic Introduction, (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1970), p. 72.

7

For the Arabic origin of some Italian words, see Bruno Migliorini, The Italian Language, abridged and recast by T. Gwinfor Griffith, (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966), pp. 114 ff.

8

Elcock, p. 228.

9

For a sample list of Italian words from Germanic I have referred to Enrico D. Zaccaria, L'elemento germanico nella lingua italiana, (Bologna: Libreria Editrice Treves, 1901).

10

The phonetic symbols used throughout this study are standard I.P.A. symbols. See International Phonetic Association, The Principles of the International Phonetic Association...International Phonetic Alphabet..., (London: University College, 1949).

11

My own unpublished spectrographic analysis reveals this reduction to be by 1/3.

12
In this study only the major allophones are discussed.

13
The presence of consonantal length in Capestranese is in all other cases an indication of a separate phoneme.

14
Edward Sapir, Language, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World--Harvest Books, 1949), p. 150.

15
Emilio Alarcos-Llorach, Fonología española, 3rd ed., (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1961), pp. 118 ff.

16
C.H. Grandgent, An Introduction to Vulgar Latin, (1907; rpt. New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1962), p. 67.

17
Ibid., p. 67.

18
W. Meyer-Lübke, Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, vierte Auflage, (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1968), entry #8069.

19
Elcock, p. 471.

20
Roland G. Kent, The Sounds of Latin, supplement to Language, XII (September, 1932; rpt. New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1966), p. 51.

21
Ibid., p. 56.

22
Ibid., p. 59.

23
Ibid., p. 59.

24
Ibid., p. 51.

25
Ibid., p. 51.

26
Ibid., p. 53.

27
Ibid., p. 56.

28
Ibid., p. 54.

29
Ibid., p. 54.

30
Ibid., p. 59.

31
Ibid., p. 59.

32
Ibid., p. 51.

33
Ibid., p. 51.

34
Ibid., p. 51.

35
Ibid., p. 54.

36
Ibid., pp. 52-53.

37
A reconstruction based on ante and analogy with
prius. Meyer-Lübke, REW, entry #494.

38
Elcock, p. 43.

39
Kent, pp. 53-54.

40
Ibid., p. 51.

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Entries are arranged in the following alphabetical order: a, b, c, d, æ, e, ə, f, g, i, j, k, l, m, n, ñ, o, ɔ, p, r, s, ś, t, u, v, w, z, ʒ.

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<u>suffrì</u>	'to suffer'	58
<u>sukə</u>	'juice'	68
<u>suldate</u>	'soldier'	58
<u>sunne</u>	'sleep'	82
<u>surde</u>	'deaf'	57, 84

<u>si</u>	'yes'	68
<u>šimmja</u>	'monkey'	92
<u>šindilla</u>	'spark'	70
<u>široppe</u>	'syrup'	68
<u>širokke</u>	'sirocco'	68

<u>távela</u>	'table'	68, 72
<u>tække</u>	'tacks'	34
<u>tærra</u>	'earth'	68, 78
<u>tembe</u>	'weather'	68
<u>ténnera</u>	'tender'	53
<u>tepəde</u>	'lukewarm'	73
<u>tene</u>	'to hold'	68
<u>tepone</u>	'rat'	18
<u>tinnere</u>	'tender'	53
<u>tirabbuśó</u>	'corkscrew'	33
<u>toppa</u>	'clump of soil'	32

<u>trəfojje</u>	'clover'	73
<u>treska</u>	'to thrash'	32
<u>trəva</u>	'to find'	76
<u>trəvela</u>	'to stir'	58, 60, 68
<u>tribbute</u>	'tribute'	72
<u>tronge</u>	'trunk'	82
<u>trukkiske</u>	'corn'	19
<u>trujja</u>	'trowel'	33
<u>truvulá</u>	'to stir'	58, 60
<u>ubbligá</u>	'to obligate'	79
<u>uffrí</u>	'to offer'	87
<u>ulme</u>	'elm tree'	81
<u>uva</u>	'grape'	77
<u>vakka</u>	'cow'	69
<u>vandá</u>	'to boast'	88
<u>vasta</u>	'enough'	62
<u>vatte</u>	'to strike'	78
<u>vækkja</u>	'old'	53
<u>vekkja</u>	'old'	53, 61, 69
<u>venfe</u>	'to win'	51, 82
<u>venne</u>	'to sell'	52, 69, 82
<u>vere</u>	'true'	76
<u>veskeve</u>	'bishop'	59, 76

<u>vade</u>	'to see'	52, 69, 73
<u>velanĵa</u>	'scale'	92
<u>viĉine</u>	'neighbor'	72
<u>vine</u>	'wine'	19
<u>viña</u>	'vineyard'	69, 92
<u>vípĕra</u>	'viper'	76
<u>voĉe</u>	'voice'	54, 69
<u>vokka</u>	'mouth'	56, 62, 78
<u>volle</u>	'to boil'	62
<u>volpe</u>	'fox'	69
<u>votte</u>	'barrel'	62
<u>vove</u>	'steer'	66, 77
<u>vrakĕ</u>	'trousers'	62, 69
<u>vrevoña</u>	'shame'	69, 92
<u>vudælla</u>	'intestine'	53
<u>vudejĵe</u>	'intestine'	52
<u>vu</u>	'you'	94
<u>wadañá</u>	'to earn'	32
<u>wardá</u>	'to guard'	32
<u>zefrana</u>	'saffron'	31
<u>zifĵema</u>	'my aunt'	20
<u>zolfĕ</u>	'sulfur'	68
<u>zukkĕre</u>	'sugar'	31

zavorra

'small flat stone'

68

VITA

Giovanni Fontecchio was born January 28, 1939, in Bussi sul Tirino, Italy. He moved with his parents to Capestrano in 1942, where he finished elementary and intermediate education in 1954. Immigrating to the United States in 1955 with his parents, he graduated from Iron Mountain High School, Iron Mountain, Michigan, in 1957. Four years later he received the Bachelor of Science degree in Spanish and French from Northern Michigan University. From 1961 through 1965 he taught Spanish, French, and political science in Michigan public schools, and in 1966 he completed the Master of Arts degree in linguistics at Louisiana State University. In the fall of that year he was appointed to the faculty in the Department of Foreign Languages, University of Southern Mississippi, where he presently holds the rank of Assistant Professor. Taking leave during the academic year 1971/72 and the first half of 1972/73, he completed course work and the general examinations in Romance Philology at Louisiana State University in the spring of 1973.

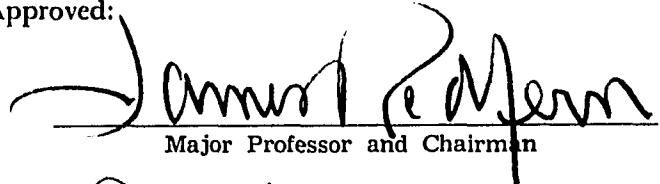
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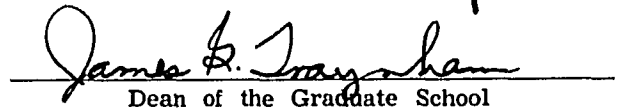
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Major Field: Romance Philology


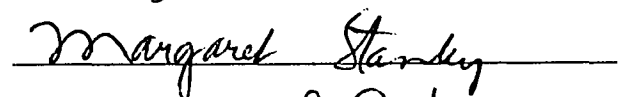
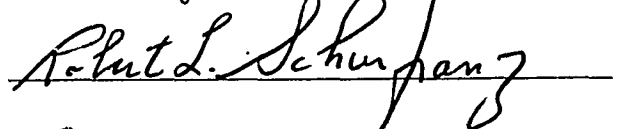

Title of Thesis: FROM LATIN TO CAPESTRANESE: A DIACHRONIC STUDY OF A
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Approved:


Major Professor and Chairman


Dean of the Graduate School

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